Next Month

and later

EROTIC ANARCHY

Hornell Hart

MARRIAGE A LA MODE

V. F. Calverton

This debate furnishes a lively clash between the traditional and the "revolutionary" points of view on problems arising out of sex. Mr. Hart admits that sexual behavior is in a confused state today. "But," he maintains, "the rationality of life has not disappeared merely because certain ancient attempts to put that rationality into human action patterns have proved inadequate." Mr. Calverton counters with the assertion that Mr. Hart is arguing from wish-fulfillment fictions rather than facts. Not only have the old patterns in love and marriage vanished, he claims, but the newer and freer expressions of the sex relationship are eminently successful. This assertion Mr. Hart vigorously denies in a rebuttal attacking what he calls Mr. Calverton's theory of "joyous libertines."

APOLOGY FOR MAN

Earnest A. Hooton

Homo sapiens is a feeble flute to this distinguished Harvard anthropologist. When man examines himself, usually he either considers himself a self-made animal and consequently admires his maker or he assumes he is the creation of a supreme intelligence, for which the latter is alternately congratulated and blamed. But Dr. Hooton says he ought to apologize — to himself, to Nature, and to the universe — for his appearance, physique, biological habits; for his use of the gift of articulate speech, his attempts to control nature, his social habits, and his systems of ethics. "Man," writes Dr. Hooton, "should confess his evolutionary deficiencies and resolve that in future he will try to be a better animal."

NO SPECIAL WORLD

Anonymous

Adaline was nearly two years old before it was suspected she was not normal. When it was learned that she would never be able to walk naturally, the mother's first instinct was desperately to protect the weakling of the family. How this emotion was translated into an effort to make the child normal mentally, if not physically — to enable her to escape the psychological shortcomings of so many crippled persons — and how that effort succeeded make an absorbing story.

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and Century

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Our Rostrum VII

VOL. XCVII — No. 5

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THE BOOK FORUM

Conducted by M. M. C.

THE DANCE OF THE QUICK AND THE DEAD — Sacheverell Sitwell (Houghton Mifflin, $3.75).
EAST WIND — Compton Mackenzie (Dodd, Mead, $2.75).
THEATRE — W. Somerset Maugham (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50).
JUAN IN CHINA — Eric Linklater (Farrar & Rinehart, $2.50).
LETTERS OF VLADIMIR I. LENIN — edited by Elizabeth Hill & Doris Mudie (Harcourt, Brace, $4.00).
THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED — Leon Trotsky (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50).
YEARS OF DESTINY — Winston S. Churchill (Scribner, $4.50).

FOR THE sophisticated reader the best book of many moons is Sacheverell Sitwell's *The Dance of the Quick and the Dead*. The writing is delightful, weighted with memory, conscious and unconscious; it is rhythmical, balanced, full of wit and poetry. The author of *The Quick and the Dead*, the most highly gifted of the Sitwells, is a master of that power of evocation that comes only from an intensive and extensive knowledge of many forms of human expression and many forms of human emotion. You may be puzzled as to what he is trying to do in *The Dance of the Quick and the Dead*, but it would seem that he is trying to give us a panorama of the human imagination, of human aspirations, as they express themselves in works of art, in the personality of various artists, in frustrated human emotions, in half-realized artistic expression. This is a beautiful book by a man who undoubtedly has spent his life in pondering rather than in action and who has meditated for long on those few achievements, whatever form they have taken — Bach's music, paintings, mysterious castles in Ireland, the modes of the dance, the lyric lines of Swinburne, that put some men among the companies of the immortals.

COMPTON Mackenzie and Somerset Maugham are among the very few novelists of our time whose books are being read after 25 years. *East Wind*, by Mackenzie is the first volume of what is to form a quaternity — a series that will give us the main currents of the 40 years of this century through a group of men who are leaving school at the turn of the century. The prospect of another "saga," however, should not frighten the reader away from *East Wind*. It exists on its own account, an extremely interesting narrative about people who are on a higher level emotionally and intellectually than the population usual in modern novels. And it is written with the professionalism of a man who thoroughly knows his job. A young Scotsman, a young Jew, and a young Irishman are the leading characters. The Irishman has made a creed of nationality; the Scotsman would like to do the same, but is frustrated through his country's having settled down to a smug provincialism which leaves no nucleus for militant nationalism; the young Jew is entering the international revolutionary movement which hopes to liquidate all nationalisms. This is not only an ably written and interesting novel, but it has a heroic and spiritual quality that especially distinguishes it.

FROM Somerset Maugham's *Theatre*, for instance. This is thoroughly readable. Every incident and every character is exploited by a novelist who is professional through and through. There is nothing half-baked in these pages. With extraordinary sparse incident Somerset Maugham gives us the total career of Julia Lambert. And he does a surprising thing — he actually convinces us that Julia is a genius in the theater. He doesn't insist overmuch on her theatricality — that would be tiresome, and Somerset Maugham is never tiresome — but with amazing adroitness he lets us see that all Julia's imaginativeness is in what she does on the stage and that her real life actually begins when she takes up her grease pot. *Theatre* is a surprisingly successful portrait of an artist. But, for all Somerset Maugham's adroitness, for all his knowledge of the world (and what novelist has more knowledge of the world than he has?), it gives us an impression of emptiness. The people are not on a high level emotionally or intellectually. They live in only a two-dimensional world, and we are moved only by people who carry some hint of a three-dimensional world with them.

EAST *Wind* is dedicated to Eric Linklater, whose own *Juan in China* is before us. We know who this Juan is — he is a descendant of Byron's Don Juan and he has many of his forefather's proclivities — he makes love, he moves from one country to another, and he opposes to the complicated stupidities of the modern world a certain artlessness. In short, he is a present-day Candide. His newest adventures are in China; he goes there in the company of a delightful Chinese girl named Kuo Kuo. But Kuo Kuo is patriotic and is bent on saving China from the Japanese, and this lands Juan in situa-

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tions that he really has no relish for — politics and war. With Kuo Kuo's disillusionment with him, Juan's intervention in Chinese affairs comes to an end. But he has had some enlightening experiences, and so have we. The book is a little too long. A Voltarian satire should not exceed the length of *Candide*, and when a writer carries his satire into a novel-length book there is danger of a loss of sparkle. *Juan in China* occasionally loses sparkle.

ONE of the memorable books of our times is *The Letters of Lenin*. A memorable book indeed, although the letters in the collection have no literary quality; they are literal and indeliberate, a busy man's communications with his colleagues and relations. Yet the total effect of the letters, so well selected, so well arranged in terms of the revolutionary movement and his personal life, is very revealing. We find a man who is sympathetic and affectionate, and, like many others who have shaken the world, with a leaning toward the quietness of a student's life. Out of this student's life came one of the qualities that made him so unbreakable as a leader: he had thought over his dogma for so long that his mind had become fastened to it as a barnacle to a rock. The dogma was the dialectic of materialism, and no early Christian theologian was more bent

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Listed below are several of the articles which appear in the May issue now on sale:

The Red Road to War . . .	*by H. L. Varney*
Sexual Freedom Today .	*by Havelock Ellis*
Autocrat *vs.* Constitution .	*by Albert Jay Nock*
Coronation Crazy . . .	*by H. W. Seaman*
Baseball & Ballyhoo . .	*by Gerald Holland*
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The Book Forum

on squashing heresies or subtleties of reasoning that might weaken or change the purity of the doctrine. We see step by step the preparation for a revolution that was to make a change in the world; we see men biding their time as poverty-stricken exiles in alien cities, waiting patiently for their enemies to destroy themselves and so permit them to open the way to a new order. A detective who watched Lenin in the reading room of the British Museum noted "a devilish sureness in every line of his powerful magnetic face," and this is indeed the figure that confronts us at the end of the collection of letters.

If a reader turns from *The Letters of Lenin* to Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed*, he is likely to believe that the dream of Marx and Lenin of a classless, moneyless, stateless, warless society is just as far off as ever. What has happened in the country where the Marx-Lenin ideas were put into action? Trotsky tells us his side of the story and his view of events. Instead of the state withering away as Lenin prophesied, it has become more and more powerful in Russia; instead of bureaucracy becoming unnecessary, it has become even more dominant. Through this bureaucracy Russia has a new privileged and moneyed class. Trotsky as a good dialectical materialist does not believe any individual is responsible for this; the individual is obedient to the objective law that classes and not individuals make historic situations. Whatever we may think about it there is in Russia a totalitarian state which may seem to the future historian to differ from the German or Italian totalitarian states only in its lower culture and its lesser productivity. Many readers after finishing this able book of Trotsky's may find themselves wondering if Marxism has not shot its bolt and if other agencies than communism may not take the lead from here on, in making an equable distribution of the world's goods.

It would not be at all surprising if it turned out that the two greatest historians of today were the two statesmen and men of action, Leon Trotsky and Winston S. Churchill. Both have a way of understanding the inner urge of events that is denied to the man who works out the problems in his study. Winston Churchill's fifth volume on his ancestor — *Years of Destiny: Marlborough: His Life and Times* — shows Marlborough at the height of his military glory. Not only is Churchill's mastery of his material impressive, but his writing is brilliant. He has learned his trade from the older historians, and his style has none of the flashiness so common in modern biography. Marlborough is for him a great man, and he succeeds in presenting him thus to the reader.

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OUR ROSTRUM

These columns are open to brief letters commenting upon any article or subject that has appeared in THE FORUM. *Because of space limitations, the Editor must reserve the right to publish letters only in part.*

The publication of Peter Whiffin's article, "A Priest Warns the Church," in the April FORUM, *has brought the expected storm of mingled anger and enthusiasm upon the editors' heads. Since a large amount of correspondence on this subject is still being received, it has been thought advisable to withhold publication of any of it until the June issue, when a more balanced selection may be made. In addition,* THE FORUM *will publish a reply to Peter Whiffin when and if it receives one meeting its normal standards of excellence. In this connection it may be worth noting that, while a chief point made against Peter Whiffin by his detractors is his unwillingness to emerge from anonymity, a remarkable number of those same detractors are unwilling to write for publication without the same protection. The fact is that, while* THE FORUM *is always comparatively reluctant to print anonymous articles, there are certain subjects on which it is often virtually impossible to obtain comment.*

APPRENTICESHIP

To the Editor:

I have read with interest yo
foreword, "Apprentice Young
in the March issue of THE
sound apprenticeship program
fers opportunity for adequate t
young persons and at the same
tects skilled workers is essential
dustrial development of the cou
protection can be achieved thro
ments between employers a
unions which establish the ratio
tices to journeymen in order t
overcrowding or shortage of ski
ers in the trades.

In my opinion, the Federal C
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in the United States Depart
Labor is performing a valuable s
bringing together employer and
groups in the trades in which ap
ship is practiced and assisting
working out standards and pro
Apprenticeship is also, as you po
highly important to consumers,
comfort and safety depend on cor
workmen.

A national program alone cann
prentice young America." The co
tion of State and local groups is ir
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employers and employees who are fa
with local situations is necessary to i
that apprentices secure all-round tra
on the job and instruction in relate
jects and that the interests of the jou
men are safeguarded. Except in
States there has been no adequate machinery developed to promote uniformity and give adequate protection to employment standards of apprenticeship. Because of this lack of machinery, the lack of interest on the part of employers, the displacement of crafts by mass production, and because there has been a dearth of employment in the skilled trades during the depression, this vital system of training has not always kept pace with the needs of industry in recent years. . . .

If young workers are to be apprenticed, it is important that their interests are safeguarded, that labor standards are upheld, that industry is assured a proper supply of competent workmen, and that apprentices are not put on at the expense of older skilled workers. . . .

. . . . . .

You of course realize
It does, however, make a significant contribution. . . .

FRANCES PERKINS
Department of Labor
Office of the Secretary
Washington, D. C.

REPORT FROM THE EMPIRE OF MISSOURI

To the Editor:

The latter part of February my attention was called to an article in your magazine entitled "Boss Pendergast," by Ralph Coghlan [February FORUM]. Failing to find a copy on any newsstand, I went to the public library and read the issue. Since then I have m
forts to obtain so
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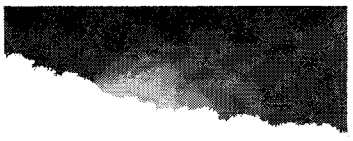
1927

1937

TEN YEARS AGO THIS OCTOBER

It is interesting to turn back the pages of the years and read the record of a business. For time has a way of testing purposes and policies. Good years and lean reveal the character of men and organizations. The fundamental policy of the Bell System is not of recent birth—it has been the corner-stone of the institution for many years. On October 20, 1927, it was reaffirmed in these words by Walter S. Gifford, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

erican Tele-



there is no justification for acting otherwise than for the long run.

"Earnings must be sufficient to assure the best possible telephone service at all

to assure the continued finan-

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F O R U M

and Century

MAY, 1937 VOL. XCVII, NO. 5

The People vs. Labor

Editorial Foreword

THE WELL-BEING of the masses — proletariat, if you prefer that word — is the only lasting insurance of the well-being of the individual. That is not communism but common sense. According to a recent papal encyclical it is also good Christian doctrine. It is an idea that is being accepted more slowly by industrial management in the United States than in European democracies.

At this writing the Supreme Court is considering the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act. This act, which bears the name of Senator Wagner of New York, is an inadequate document compared with the clean-cut labor legislation of European democracies a generation ago. It goes little further than to make collective bargaining legal and to create a National Labor Relations Board.

Compare the apologetic tone of the Wagner labor act with the Collective Agreements Act of the Netherlands, a country of rich capitalists as well as prosperous labor. The Dutch act is dated December 24, 1927. There are 27 articles, and the first starts from scratch on this high plane of economic intelligence:

> A collective agreement shall mean an agreement concluded between one or more employers or one or more incorporated associations of employers on the one hand and one or more incorporated associations of employees on the other hand.

In our country, however, the conciliatory act of Senator Wagner has aroused again the blind fanaticism which some sections of American industrial management still inherit from our privateering pioneers. The horror of certain employers over the Wagner act is equal to the stupefaction of the beadle in the poorhouse when Oliver Twist asked for a second bowl of porridge. Corporation lawyers have been employed to prove that certain phrases run counter to irrelevant passages in the Constitution. Their ingenuity would have done credit to those amazing lawyers of the medieval Icelandic sagas who could make a saint into a felon in five minutes of brilliant oratory.

HITS THREE AMENDMENTS

THE NEW YORK TIMES has ably summarized the bristling array of legal opinion against the Wagner labor act:

> The opposing argument, made by attorneys for five employers, holds that the interstate commerce clause does not confer power to supervise industrial labor relations, and that the Wagner act violates the *Tenth* Amendment in attempting to regulate in-

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trastate activities; that it violates the *Fifth* Amendment by depriving employers arbitrarily of the freedom of contract; that it deprives them of the right to jury trial; that it delegates legislative power to the National Labor Board, in authorizing it to determine how the law shall be applied, and, in one case — brought by the Associated Press — that it violates the guarantee of freedom provided by the *First* Amendment.

Small wonder that some British jurists shake their heads over our Constitution when that noble document can be so distorted in the service of reaction!

With unionism and collective bargaining behind it, British labor has now graduated to the position of supporting government-inspected private corporations rather than government ownership and prefers efficiency, plus doles for those thrown temporarily out of work, rather than congested employment on less time and pay.

We are again in a boom period, and the boom must not be obstructed by antiquated psychology. The sooner labor unions catch up with the employer corporations and deal in mass with the recovery, the more rapid will be the profits of the corporations as well as the dissemination of those higher standards of living which is the practical as well as the idealistic aim of the New Deal.

Mr. Myron C. Taylor, president of the United States Steel Corporation, saw a great light and astonished the nation recently by taking the initiative and welcoming collective contracts with the C.I.O. The effect was surprising to the die-hards. Not only did labor congratulate Mr. Taylor for his industrial statesmanship, but the brokers were swamped with orders for industrial stocks, and the tickers of Wall Street were minutes late on the up side.

A complete reversal of point of view regarding unions on the part of management would help business even more than it would help labor. Wanted: some captains of industry who will boldly refuse to make labor contracts except with regulated unions, who will insist that every man in their employ belong to a responsible union! That would hasten us through this transitional stage of experimental unionism, and we could pass on to the next stage where nuisances of strikes and stupid debate will be eliminated and the unions, as in England and Sweden, will be as responsible to the people as are the corporations.

Incorporated Unions

From the opposite point of view, also, the Wagner labor act is backward compared with the Holland legislation of ten years ago. Our law is one-sided in that it apologizes nervously for labor, without, at the same time, affording equal protection to the employer. In the Netherlands act quoted previously, note that collective bargaining is limited to *incorporated* associations of employees as well as *incorporated* associations of employers. In the more experienced European democracies labor is held as responsible for its contracts as capital. All labor unions in America should be under strict State or federal regulation, and their books open to the public. For reasons never adequately explained, American unionists have, as a rule, fought incorporation. They fear being made the prey of technical lawsuits and other unfair legal embarrassments. They point out, also, that not all employers are incorporated, that they must deal with individual owners and partnerships as well. This attitude is unfortunate. Until the leaders of labor insist on some form of corporate responsibility their unions will remain, in the prejudice of many people, in the twilight zone of the semi-criminal.

The people are entitled to the same responsibility on the part of the labor unions that they now demand from the corporations. The bookkeeping of the unions and the salaries of executives must, to relieve suspicion, be given more widespread publicity than at present. It must no longer be possible to whisper that a labor executive receives a salary of $100,000 when his remuneration is actually only $10,000, every cent of which he earns and most of which he gives away. At the same time, the labor racketeer must face the same exacting limelight as the industrial profiteer.

We need practical laws to protect the people, in this period of transition, from sit-ins and prolonged strikes. Official district conciliators must be set up, and the courts given power to enforce their arbitration. We need simple and clean-cut laws which will make the bargaining of the unions and corporations as peaceful as agreements between single employers and employees.

Henry Goddard Leach

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How To Wreck Your Schools

The Destruction of Education in Chicago

by **MILTON S. MAYER**

CHICAGO has today the poorest — and the most expensive — school system in the country. The city of Francis Parker and John Dewey and Jane Addams is giving its 500,000 children less education under worse educational conditions than any other large city in America. Its teachers are getting lower salaries for more work than in any comparable system. And this crisis is not abating. It is advancing.

The shroud of depression in which this war on education masqueraded has long since fallen off. Chicago, it is true, is still broke. Its taxes for the past three years are 35 per cent delinquent, the worst record in the country. But its citizens have just scraped together an all-time record amount of federal income tax. Chicago could save its schools "if it wanted to." We shall see why it doesn't want to, and we shall see, incidentally, just who *it* is.

When the bubble burst in 1929, the American Way of feasting and starving alternately demanded retrenchment in government costs. "Economy!" — the cry in every big city — was loudest in Chicago, because Chicago was brokest. Chicago had been going broke for years. Under the Illinois tax system, unreformed since 1818, 25 per cent of the income-producing property were bearing 85 per cent of the tax burden. The wealthy had corrupted successive sets of officeholders to maintain this system. The result was that Illinois could not make an honest living, and in Cook County alone the public debt had risen 577 per cent between 1913 and 1930.

The schools had long since occurred to the statesmen of Illinois as the public service best adapted to emasculation. While the State constitution guarantees a "thorough and efficient system of free schools," the percentage of state revenue appropriated for public education fell from 21.3 in 1917 to 7.6 in 1936, and today Illinois, ranking third in the payment of federal income tax, ranks 37th in per-pupil support and 47th (better than Mississippi!) in per-capita support of education.

But the common people of Chicago had built themselves a great common-school system. Great men and women had conceived and nourished and guarded that system. The politicians had plundered the noninstructional services, but none dared lay hands on the teaching of the children. When the crash came and the wolves turned on the children, the watchdogs were long gone, and the schools found themselves being defended and, eventually, abandoned by that user of the people, Mr. W. R. Hearst. And the schools no longer belonged to the people.

They had passed into the tender care of the banks and the interests the banks represented, in 1929. That year, the tax system having collapsed all in a heap, the Chicago Board of Education began financing current expenses with warrants against anticipated taxes. The banks liked the color of this six-per-cent paper, up to 60 per cent of the total levy. Thus the bankers and their friends got their hooks into the public schools.

This universally condemned method of financing, now standard in Chicago, undermined the schools at two other points when the depression hit. First, the Board was (and is) unable to redeem the warrants because of tax delinquency. The cost of debt service rose from three per cent of the school budget in 1930 to 21 per cent in 1936, necessitating a cut of eighteen per cent from education (a reducible item) and graft (a fixed charge, as we shall see). Second, the Board could no longer write an honest budget, even if it wanted to. It has to appropriate 94 per cent of its levy. The banks will finance only 60 per cent of the levy. Only six per

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cent are allowed for loss in collection, but taxes are 35 per cent delinquent. Thus the budget must be padded to the point of unintelligibility — an obvious boon to the boodlers — in order to provide the necessary cash to operate the plant.

Massing for the Attack

In 1931 the banks sent for Mayor Anthony (Ten-Per-Cent Tony) Cermak, whose defeat of Big Bill Thompson they had helped encompass in the name of good government. The banks were getting worried about their city paper, and the banks' friends were getting worried about rising taxes. Mayor Cermak was told that the cost of government would have to be cut *somewhere*. Independent lines of reasoning led the banks and the politicians to the same source of "economy": the schools.

To the politicians, the schools are a pain in the neck. In the first place, kids can't vote. Second, most of the jobs — 14,000 out of 18,000 in the Chicago system — go to a lot of old maids who never saw a ward committeeman. Four fifths of the budget go for instructional purposes, and the gravy is all in the other fifth. So, as long as the bankers didn't care *where* the budget was cut. . . .

The bankers represent the wealthy, the "big taxpayers." Most wealthy men, including wealthy politicians, send their children to private schools. Many wealthy men feel, as did Governor Berkeley in 1671, that "learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sect into the world." Finally, although Chicago was paying less per capita for its great school system than the eleven other principal cities, the schools were taking 32 per cent of the tax levy. A nice big cut right there would do the job.

But all these factors had obtained in previous depressions, and the schools had never been touched. Now they were to be hit the first, the hardest, and, as it turned out, the longest of any public service. Why? The assault was nationwide. The United States Chamber of Commerce was asking its members for confidential suggestions for "advisable adjustments in the budgets of school systems." The reason was that high-school attendance in the United States, under the impulse of court decisions extending the "common school education" to the high school, had risen from 300,000 in 1893 to 5,000,000 in 1929. The cost of schools had become unendurable to those who had no use for them. The crash of '29 provided the pretext for the declaration of war. For the first time in this nation's history the youngest as well as the weakest members of the community were going to pay the cost of bad business and bad government. How the kids would love an extra month's vacation!

Mayor Cermak's Board of Education reduced the 1931–32 school term to nine and a half months, a 4.5-per-cent salary cut for the teachers. The budget came down from $103,000,000 to $90,000,000. Since June of 1930, paydays had been late, and teachers had been given part of their pay in scrip, which they had to discount as much as 30 per cent. By January, 1932, paydays, in any form, were two and a half months behind.

In 1932, the bankers came out in the open, with their Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures, composed of 21 representative millionaires, not one of whom had ever sent his children through public school. Fred W. Sargent, president of the Chicago & North Western Railway, was chairman. These friends of the common people undertook an "investigation" of the schools and, in order to demonstrate that there was no overcrowding, instructed their investigators to *classify as vacant* all rooms used for libraries, manual training, cooking, sewing, music, and art.

July 12, 1932, Mr. Sargent appeared before the first night meeting of the Board of Education. He informed the Board that, if the budget were cut another $15,000,000, his committee would *lend its assistance* in the sale of tax warrants; but that, if the budget were not cut another $15,000,000, the committee could *guarantee that the warrants would not be sold*. The teachers' pay was cut another straight fifteen per cent. Ten new schools stood half-built for two years, until Father Roosevelt came along with his billions to put men to work on anything — even schoolhouses.

The First Assault

Came 1933. Mayor Cermak was killed, and Cermak's City Council crowned Ed Kelly Mayor of Chicago. Kelly appointed seven new members to the Board of Education, whose membership is eleven. At its first public meeting the new Board performed two acts, without

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any discussion. It reduced the school term to nine months, bringing the teachers' pay cut to 23.5 per cent, and it elected as its president Mr. James B. McCahey, prosperous coal merchant and intimate friend of Mayor Kelly.

The record for the murderous months that followed shows ten-to-one approval — Mrs. W. S. Hefferan, a holdover member, dissenting — of every resolution read, without discussion. The record shows that one member attended meetings for two years without ever saying any other word than *aye*. The record shows that at a typical meeting 95 resolutions, providing for the expenditure of $675,000, were passed in nine minutes, with the Board members uttering a total of 215 words, 80 of which were repetitions of the word *omnibus*.

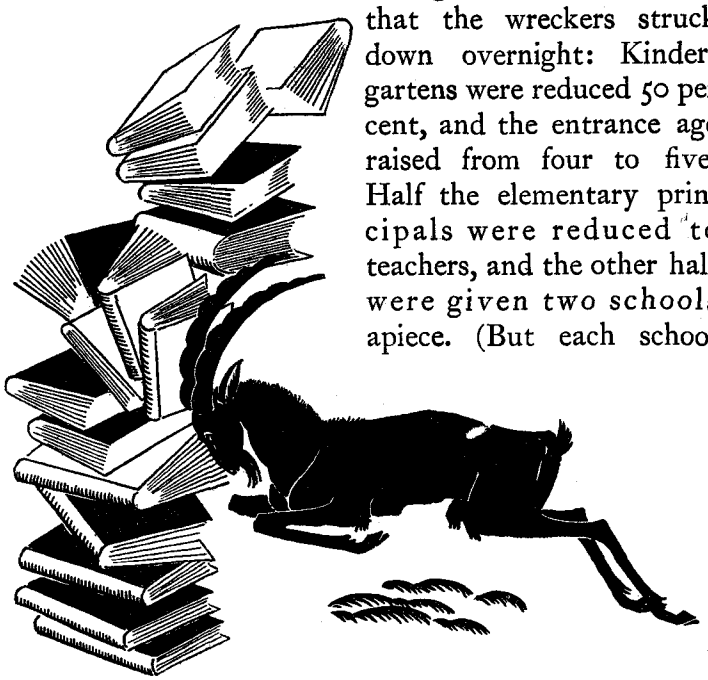
The personnel of the Board of Education appointed to rubber-stamp the wrecking of Chicago's schools was the poorest in the city's history, and that is going some. One member was a union boss, who had been convicted of conspiracy to interfere with interstate shipment. One member was an interior-decorating contractor. One member is now under federal indictment for price fixing of oil. Two members were in the coal business. Except for Mrs. Hefferan, a past national president of the P.T.A., none of the members responded to a direct inquiry as to their public-school education.

July 12, 1933, ten weeks after their appointment by Mayor Kelly, ten members of the Board of Education held an all-day meeting in a private room of a downtown club. Mrs. Hefferan was refused admission. Late in the afternoon the Board held its regular public meeting and passed, without any discussion, its devastating "economy" program. Superintendent Bogan, who had not been consulted, said the schools would be "irretrievably wrecked." Robert M. Hutchins said the Board had undertaken to throw the school system back twenty years. The people, that "great beast," howled. There were mass meetings. Civic organizations, banded together as the Citizens Schools Committee, protested to the Mayor. The Mayor "washed his hands" of the schools. They protested to Governor Horner, who, before his election in 1932, had raged against the earlier "economies." Mr. Horner said: "Remember, I'm only the governor."

The Board was silent, except for Member Charlie Fry, who told a delegation of mothers: "I done it in the interest of economy." But each school child received a handsome brochure entitled: *Our Schools Must Not Close*. In it President McCahey said the Board had begun the year with a four-year deficit of $6,000,000; the "economies" would save between $10,000,000 and $11,000,000 a year. Dean Judd of the University of Chicago School of Education took to the hustings to point out that the four-year deficit had, through the reduction of the school term become an $800,000 surplus *before* the economies were voted. Investigation disclosed that the Board had cut its own 1933 levy $3,670,000 by using an assessed valuation $200,000,000 under the city's. A year later the saving chargeable to the "economies" was $1,490,000.

But the cost of these "economies" was not in dollars. The cost was in the opportunities of 500,000 children, in the education not postponed but destroyed. The "economies" were all taken out of the educational departments, despite the fact that Dr. George D. Strayer of Columbia had found in 1932 that the non-instructional expenditures for the Chicago schools were 25 per cent excessive and the instructional expenditures barely adequate.

These were the "fads and frills," as the *Chicago Tribune* called them, that the wreckers struck down overnight: Kindergartens were reduced 50 per cent, and the entrance age raised from four to five. Half the elementary principals were reduced to teachers, and the other half were given two schools apiece. (But each school



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kept its full-time engineer at a principal's salary.) High-school deans and the vocational-guidance bureau were abolished. Continuation schools were reduced 75 per cent. Manual training, domestic science, and printing were eliminated from the elementary schools. Elementary physical-education teachers were abolished. The two-year public college was abolished, and 4,500 young men and women added to other thousands looking for work. The 28 junior high schools— America's greatest contribution to the structure of education — were abolished, and their 50,000 pupils scattered. Fourteen hundred teachers were dismissed, and the teacher load increased 40 per cent.

Dean Judd told 25,000 parents: "Economy is not the motive. The motive is destruction of the morale and efficiency of the free public-school system." The alleged deficit, he said, was "a cover under which the enemies of the common people and of the public schools can operate." He named Mayor Kelly, the Sargent Committee, and the *Chicago Tribune*, "which constantly and maliciously attacks the schools." President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor added the names of Melvin Traylor, president of the First National Bank and a trustee of Northwestern University, and Sewell Avery, president of Montgomery, Ward & Co. and a trustee of the University of Chicago.

Consolidating the Gains

The "economies" did not, of course, pay the back salaries of the teachers, and no part of their 23.5-per-cent pay cut has ever been restored. When in August of 1934 the arrearage had reached eight and a half months and the teachers were rioting in front of the banks, the State legislature legalized the mortgaging of the Board's noneducational property *to the federal government*. The RFC bought the $23,500,000 worth of 4.5-per-cent mortgage bonds at 101 and immediately sold them at 103 to — guess who! — the banks. Today the First National Bank holds the mortgage on the land on which it is built, land which the founders of Chicago granted the schools in perpetuity. The $23,500,000 were used to pay the teachers, and there was not another payless payday until this February, when a month's pay was missed until the State legislature, with the Kelly-Nash machine cracking the whip, "pegged" the school levy for the next two years, effectively raising the tax rate from $1.60 to $2.20. Unless delinquent tax collections should rise, which they aren't doing now, the Board will not be able to meet its payroll early in 1939.

President McCahey refused to name the "famous educator" who, he said, had recommended the "economies." But the teachers knew who he was, and two years later this great man was Chicago's superintendent of schools. For Superintendent Bogan, the last barrier between the schools and their enemies, died last spring. He had been slated for "execution" when his term expired in June, but, as the *Daily News* said, "the Board was spared that trouble, the city that disgrace." A few months before Bogan's death, William H. Johnson, a teacher close to McCahey, had been appointed assistant superintendent in charge of high schools.

Immediately after Bogan's death the Citizens Schools Committee announced that Johnson had been hand-picked for the superintendency. Then the *Tribune*, the Kelly-Nash organ, made the exclusive announcement that Johnson would be chosen superintendent at the next Board meeting. *Ten* members, the *Tribune* was able to state, concurred in the choice. The Schools Committee wired McCahey that the "precipitous appointment" of Johnson was "opposed to leading educational opinion" and was "contrary to the judgment of practically every civic organization in Chicago."

Meanwhile, numbered petitions for Johnson's appointment were being circulated *in certain schools*. The Chicago Principals' Club, which shared the general opinion of Johnson, protested this trick. Overnight the "Horace Mann Club" appeared, recommending Johnson's appointment. Three of the four officers of this "club" had taken private courses for teaching advancement from the assistant superintendent, and the fourth was an assistant principal whose appointment he had approved.

Ignoring every protest, including those of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the National P.T.A., the Board appointed the "famous educator." With Johnson in as superintendent, the completion of the wrecking program was at last

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unimpeded. The new superintendent had already demonstrated his appetite for this program, telling the high-school teachers, who were bearing the heaviest teacher load in the country: "I haven't seen anyone die from overwork." He had also stated his educational theories:

> I am not interested in seeing children get out of their imagination some high-falluting output that frequently means nothing and comes to nothing. . . . That tommyrot does not mean anything in my life. . . . I have met teachers myself who haven't heard of these fancy words, or it probably wasn't called supervised study and all these different names.

The Reign of Terror

The past year has brought Chicago's school system to its knees. Terror and tyranny are the rule. They have to be, for, with salaries one per cent above 1914 and living costs up 40 per cent, the "old maids" are growing dangerous. "I have a well-oiled spy system," Superintendent Johnson recently warned Mary Herrick of the High School Teachers' Federation, "and there isn't anything you do that I don't know about."

The teachers not only hate Johnson; they despise him. Cornered recently in an attempt to tell 150 English teachers how to teach English, he said: "Of course, I'm not an expert in this subject." A voice in the back of the room said: "There are a hundred and fifty experts here."

The teachers' pay cut of 23.5 per cent is by ten per cent the biggest pay cut in the country. (The maximum pay cut of city-hall employees is 10.7 per cent.) New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit have fully restored teachers' pay cuts. The average salary of high-school and elementary teachers in New York is $3,811 and $2,915, respectively; in Chicago, $2,635 and $1,825.

The increase in class loads from five to six — the standard maximum is five — has further reduced the morale and efficiency of the high-school teachers. The North Central Association's "absolute maximum" of students taught per day is 160; the Chicago average is 190. Last fall Superintendent Johnson ordered the principals (by telephone, not in writing) to add a second study hall to each teacher's load, thus eliminating the last minute in which teachers might help individual pupils or talk with parents. This order has been tacitly resisted, and the principals are paying the penalty.

With a broken teacher morale, an impossible pupil load, and a month lost every year, the quality of education Chicago is giving its children is clear. Add to these "economies" a condition of overcrowding worthy of a concentration camp. Because of the declining birth rate the elementary schools are hopelessly crowded only in the slum areas, where 50 schools have a double shift and a twenty-per-cent reduction in each pupil's day. But the kindergartens, reduced by 50 per cent in 1933 on the advice of "a famous educator," have as many as 100 children per teacher, and 1,600 eligible five-year-olds will never see kindergarten. As Superintendent Johnson said when he abolished the system's one nursery school-child study laboratory: "It just relieves lazy mothers." One high school, whose outstanding principal was recently demoted by Johnson, has an enrollment of 3,400 in a building built 50 years ago for 1,400. Assembly halls, without desks and daylight, are used as study halls. Many of the 37 high schools, 25 of which have more than one shift, are used from eight A.M. to five P.M. But, strangely enough, the 1937 building program of $5,225,000 (half of it a PWA grant) is devoted almost exclusively to the elementary schools. And the *Tribune* opposes the building program on this ground:

> By increasing taxes it tends to reduce tax collections further, speeding the day when school teachers will again face payless pay days.

Other People's Money

But, while Chicago spends seven per cent less on each pupil than the average city over 100,000 in population, the pork barrel is as full as ever. The Board's expenditures for maintenance are back to their 1931 level. Among the first ten cities, Chicago ranks first in noninstructional expenditures, tenth in instructional. Chicago spends 63 per cent of its budget on

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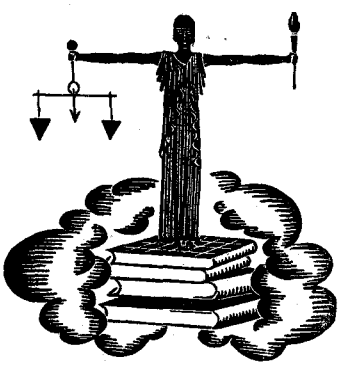
instruction; New York, 87.7 per cent; Philadelphia, 80 per cent; Detroit, 76 per cent. Chicago spends 22 per cent of its budget on operation and maintenance; New York, 7.8 per cent; Philadelphia, 10.7 per cent; Detroit, 14.5 per cent.

Chicago's business-administration costs — the big political jobs — are the highest in the country, taking 82.9 per cent of the appropriation for business and educational administration, compared with 65.6 per cent in New York, 29.4 per cent in Philadelphia, and 29.7 per cent in Detroit. The 1937 appropriation for the office of president of the Board — the Board members are unsalaried — is the highest in the country and the highest in Chicago's history. The legal work of the New York schools is handled by the city attorney, but Chicago maintains a $55,000 legal staff of twelve men and, in addition, pays Al Capone's lawyer on a $200-a-day basis for his services in tax suits. A brother of Board Member Buehler was hired as assistant to an "advisor" at $4,000 a year. Mr. Dennis Kelley, who rose in one jump from race-track inspector to Superintendent of the Parental School, is a brother-in-law of Pat Nash. In the little political jobs — engineers, janitors, and helpers — Chicago pays higher wages for more men per pupil than any other city. In the more than 100 schools, the engineer is paid better than the principal. The country's average number of classrooms per custodian is ten; Chicago's, four.



Now, if Chicago also leads the country in the cost of fuel, repairs, and materials — and it does — there is at least one of two reasons for it: inefficiency or graft. President McCahey receives a salary of $25,500 a year from his coal company and operates, as receiver, one of the biggest hotels in the world. It would be surprising to find inefficiency under so successful a businessman.

"I'd be a fool to sell coal to the schools," Mr. McCahey told some friends recently.

But *somebody* sells the schools $1,000,000 worth of coal a year, and since Chicago buys coal for 22 cents per pupil per month of school, compared with twelve for New York and fifteen for Philadelphia, *somebody* ought to be getting rich.

In 1932 Dr. Strayer found that, in the purchase of $5,000,000 worth of repairs and materials every year, the Board's system of doing all its repair work itself, instead of letting contracts by competitive bidding, doubled the cost of overhead. That system is still operating. The purchase of materials is in the hands of Mr. Chris Jensen, formerly of the Chicago Sanitary District. When Mr. Jensen testified at the Sanitary District trial in 1931, the prosecutor asked him: "What percentage of your accounts were fakes?"

Mr. Jensen replied: "About sixty per cent."

In September, October, and November of last year, with some 500 regular teachers on the waiting list, 418 "temporary certificate" teachers, many of them without college degrees, were assigned high-school jobs. One teacher's temporary certificate has been renewed every 60 days for seven years. The *Daily News* places the price of a temporary certificate at $200 to $300, depending on the ward committeeman.

Said Mr. McCahey, announcing the transfer of textbook purchasing from the schools to "downtown":

> The principals and the teachers will no longer be pestered by book agents, because under the present arrangement all books are purchased through the central office.

The Willard School was one in which the mysterious petitions for Johnson's appointment were circulated. The John School was one in which they were not. The per-pupil textbook appropriation for Willard was $1.07 in 1934, $4.10 in 1935, and $1.05 in 1936. The appropriation for John was 72 cents in 1934, seventeen cents in 1935, and 48 cents in 1936.

The 50 high-school lunchrooms, with their contracts for milk, bread, meat, and candy, cost the Board $1,235,000 a year. In 1933 the Board transferred the lunchrooms from the education to the business department. Each lunchroom was under the management of a domestic-science teacher who received $65 a month for her services. On the recommendation of a committee of restaurant men, whose chairman was also in the meat business, the Board hired a lunchroom superintendent at $6,000 a year, two auditors to assist him, and 50 lunch-

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room managers at $150 a month apiece. The Board's lunchroom committee, which now purchases the equipment, is chairmaned by Member Solomon, who in private life is the manager of more than 100 hotels and office buildings.

Some of these measures had been "authorized" by Superintendent Bogan. Let them steal, the broken old warrior told his friends; if he resigned, the children were defenseless. But there was one steal, just before his death, that Bogan never "authorized." This was the sudden introduction, without any Board action, of an old and unpopular shorthand system into the evening classes. The Citizens Schools Committee placed the cost of the new textbooks at $1,000,000, condemned the shift on educational grounds, and stated:

> The change is a sell-out of the Board of Education for what is alleged to be a promise of campaign contributions to the Democratic machine in Cook County.

Bogan died, and Superintendent Johnson announced that the new system, which was now going to be introduced into all classes, had been "tested in the evening schools under an authorization by the late William J. Bogan." The authorization has never been produced. Bogan had refused to sign it, and he had told three friends of his: "This shorthand deal isn't education at all. It is politics."

The dead man's "authorization" can no longer be used. In the year that Superintendent Johnson has been doing the authorizing, the principals have been deprived of their traditional right to select their assistants. There are 25 vacant principalships. The results of the last principals' examination are not out yet, but it is alleged that the results were known before the examination was given. Meanwhile, intransigent principals are being demoted or transferred.

President McCahey's famous educator recently announced two new plans. "Superior" elementary pupils are to be segregated and graduated in seven years. First- and second-year high-school students are to have their choice of subjects reduced from five to four.

Of the first innovation, Dean Judd says: "Elementary pupils should not and cannot be segregated on the basis of 'superiority.'"

Of the second innovation, the High School Teachers' Federation says: "The main effect is to restrict the opportunities of most children."

But the changes will have the effect of getting more children out of the system faster.

Back to the Dark Ages

There is, of course, something more than economy and graft behind this war on public education. Because nearly all the Board members are Catholics and because Mayor Kelly and President McCahey are Catholics and do not, so far as is known, send their children to public school, the canard is widespread that the Catholic Church ordered the schools wrecked. While it is true that the parochial schools have profited by the program, the fact is that Superintendent Bogan and Mrs. Hefferan, both of them Catholics, fought gloriously and at times alone for the preservation of Chicago's schools. Besides, we have seen that, while Mayor Kelly and his men are doing the sneezing, it is the "big taxpayers" who are taking the snuff.

What is their ultimate objective?

In 1932, the United States Chamber of Commerce, in its confidential list of "possible fields of economy in school retrenchment," suggested a "fee on high school students."

In 1933 Board Member Fry told a delegation of mothers:

> I ain't got no ax to grind, but when I ask them that has been receiving this kind of education that you are advocating what they want to be, as God is my judge, they don't know what they want to be.

At the same time, President McCahey was telling another delegation of mothers: "If the State legislature would have let us, we'd have charged tuition for high school this year."

And Dean Judd was telling the people of the city:

> The majority of the Board of Education is acting for those who will, if they dare, reduce the public schools to the elementary grade.

If this, then, is the objective of the war on Chicago's schools, unless the enemies of public education are compelled to contribute to its support in proportion to their ability and unless tax reform renders the political "bosses" helpless to serve those enemies, the common school will be whittled down to a "good, sound elementary education."

I should like to be optimistic but I find myself reminded of Tolstoy's message from the czars to the peasants: "We will do anything for you except get off your backs."

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Our Feminized United States

The New World Is a Woman's World—the Men Think

by **STRUTHERS BURT**

It has been my fortune or misfortune, depending on how you look at it, to know, and in some instances fairly intimately, women of four great so-called civilized nations: England, Germany, France and the United States. I have lived in those four countries and, whatever else you may say about women, there is, concerning them, one incontrovertible fact. They're numerous.

No matter how fervent a misogynist you may be, if you live in a country for any length of time it is almost impossible not to meet, in one way or another, some of its women. If you bar them from every other relationship, they'll come in to get your wash. And, having met the women, some of them, of the four great nations in question and since it is my job as a novelist to think about men and women, I should like to arise to state, with due hesitation, that in my timorous and humble opinion Thorstein Veblen, that astute and almost forgotten social philosopher of 30 years ago, is still right.

In my timorous and humble opinion (because in discussions as large and vague as this anyone who is not timorous and humble is a fool), no women are as little understood by their men as the women of the United States; no women are so badly treated — philosophically, mentally, I mean, of course; no other women are so spiritually hampered and so little considered. The last, again, mentally, spiritually.

To me it is very clear that they are still the victims of what Veblen spoke of as the harem-like attitude of the American male and that in the majority of cases they are still being used as stalking-horses for what he called "vicarious expenditure": the desire, that is, on the part of the male to express whatever success he may have had through the adornment of his dependents and the showiness of his surroundings. And I will go further. It is my belief that the United States is, with the exception of Australia and New Zealand and a few other quarters of the globe where conditions are much the same, the most masculine country in existence, the most unconsciously virile, and that it is still run exclusively by and for men.

Nor to my mind are these statements, save possibly the one having to do with virility, by any means altogether complimentary, although I don't see how it could be otherwise. We are still a frontier nation, if no longer geographically, most certainly still in our approach to most problems — as for myself, I hope, with certain definite modifications, we shall always remain one — but, whatever other virtues the frontier point of view may have, it has never, despite all the sentimental nonsense written to the contrary, regarded women as important except in their more feminine capacities.

In short, then, after noting and reflecting on all the objective, the outer, changes that have taken place in the status of the American woman during the past three decades, I have arrived regretfully at the conclusion that, subjectively, the attitude of the average American man toward women hasn't changed in the least. They are still something quite apart from the inner importance of his existence. And I think it is time that somebody said this, in fairness to the American woman and also to the American man.

What Have Women Got?

I am anticipating the guffaws of cynical laughter, native and foreign, that will greet my thesis. They do not move me. At least, unless I am very much mistaken, I shall have on my side one multiple element, the intelligent women of the United States. Take them aside

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some time and get them to tell the truth — those, that is, who are not so completely enslaved that they are totally unable to separate the letter of the law from its reality. Ask them what is the response of the average American man, intelligent or otherwise, to their opinions, unless these happen to coincide exactly with his. Ask them what is his attitude and tone of voice if they contradict him. But, for that matter, all you have to do is listen to any gathering of men and women, especially if it happens to be at a dinner table. Ask how many men actually confide in women, in either their personal affairs or their business matters. Ask why it is that all business and professional women, except those who have definitely arrived, and wives and mothers and fiancées as well have to bear in mind a technique utterly unknown to the male consciousness. Ask any woman in business what at all events her earlier experiences were. Ask any of these, and if the ladies are truthful they will tell you that every apparent proof of feminization in the United States is, in reality, a proof of unconscious male domination.

Few American men perceive this, and practically no male foreigners. The latter regard American women as fascinating, irresistible, spoiled, and slightly predatory. They do not realize that the poor creatures are so overcome at being treated as objects of grave importance that they are likely at any moment, against their better judgment, to fling their arms about the neck of one who so honors them, dishonorable as the neck may be. The intelligent American woman in this respect is, therefore, caught in a nexus; if she wishes to fall in love at all with her mind, she is forced to fall in love with the American male intellectual, and the intellectual American male, like the male intellectual everywhere, is seldom the most beautiful of his race. With a divided spirit she therefore wastes her more physical desires on some distant hero of the screen or on the memory of some Englishman once met.

We are not, thank goodness, a nation of Don Juans. But, if we were and if a textbook were written on the subject, the first rule, in fact the only one, would be to approach all women as if they were human beings.

Now my thesis may sound paradoxical. So it is. It is intended to be. The majority of surface tests might point to the supremacy of the American female, but extremely few things are what they appear to be, and the majority of widely spread beliefs are wrong — the only odd feature of this universally proven truth being that, despite 50,000,000 or so years of experience, humanity is still so easily fooled. Not long ago there died a profound philosopher named Gilbert Chesterton. Because he recognized the paradox in most human events and beliefs, because, not satisfied with appearances, he went deep down to the twisted roots of life, the majority of his readers, even the more intelligent — and all the critics — regretted his light-mindedness.

Let me list casually and at random, because there are so many of them, a few of the advantages American women are supposed to enjoy. They have the vote. They have equal property rights. They can, in some States, sit on juries. We have a woman in the President's Cabinet. We have had women governors of States and women senators and congressmen — I beg their pardon — congresswomen. Everywhere are women in business and the arts. The American woman enjoys complete freedom socially, politically, economically, and — although only in theory — morally. The Lord knows, her voice — high, low, sweet or raucous or, if we are to judge only by the radio, as a rule curiously blurred — is heard on every possible occasion, and her opinions — at least what she calls her opinions, for not many women state in

public or in private, either, what they actually think — are given the greatest publicity. She has, in addition, the widest liberty of movement and — a commonplace but valid test — she can go almost anywhere, at any time of day or night, without being subject to what the French so aptly call the blow of the eye.

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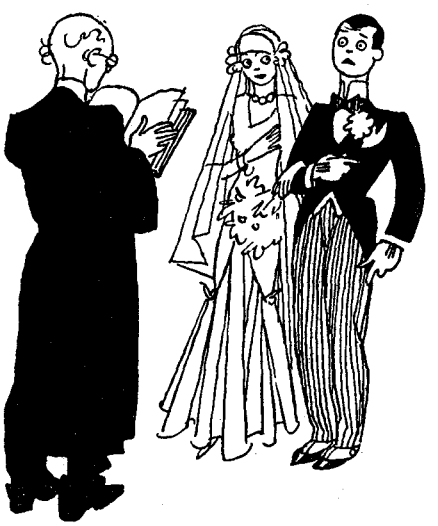
Indeed, there are practically no American bivouacs where she is not welcome. I can think of only four or five; a few masculine clubs, masculine Turkish baths, masculine locker rooms; and I'll let you guess the rest.



The American woman is at liberty to smoke her head off, drink herself into a stupor, invest her money just as foolishly as men do, take any kind of underpaid job that is open, and generally behave in any way she sees fit. In other words, having worked ever since the Renaissance, consciously or unconsciously and in company with all other women of civilized countries, for a recrudescence of feminine influence and power, the American woman has at last arrived at the exceptional and gigantic elevation where, just as much as the ineradicable differences of the sexes permit, she is — socially — a man.

Laboriously, patiently, pantingly, she has climbed a mountain, to find already there a bifurcated radish in trousers who, on the surface, seems to be her twin but who, underneath, is just as different as can be. Meanwhile, French women and English women do actually run their men at least 50 per cent, and German women, although temporarily they seem to be in abeyance, are without doubt conducting a strategical retreat. American women have not yet come anywhere near occupying the position of real importance that the Iroquois women did — or, for that matter, the women of numerous other aboriginal tribes or nations that our own American women replaced.

The Power Behind the Ladies

Anyone will admit, however, and I, naturally, will be among the first to do so, that the tests I have mentioned, the ones commonly mentioned as proving female domination in the United States, may very well be surface phenomena (although phenomena invariably have roots) and that they do not yet go to the heart of the argument. It is possible to imagine, and it has happened before in history, that men badgered beyond endurance will succumb outwardly while maintaining inwardly their convictions; and, the busier they are, the more likely they are to indulge in this form of *laissez faire*. They will grant the petitioner the form of something, while retaining for themselves its substance. The question, then, is not what is open to women but how men regard them and what their influence over men is. The question is whether the United States has become a feminized nation, as Russia was for a while under Catherine the Great and her predecessor, Elizabeth, and whether American men, taking a secondary place, are living for and by the permission of women. Or, going to the bees or the termites for an example, whether our sprawling kingdom is being increasingly organized for the sole purpose of feeding our large, lazy, and selfish queens. Queens (to abruptly change the entomological comparison to that of the scorpion) who no sooner have their will of their weakling mates than they bite off their heads in the divorce courts of Reno.

As I have said, a great many people think this is so. The majority of American men, perhaps, when they think about such matters at all, think so. The conviction furnishes an excellent male anesthetic and alibi. And practically all foreign men, as I have said, think the same. But foreign women don't. Nor do those exceptional animals, the American men who know anything at all about women. Foreign women find American men extraordinarily masculine, although the American custom of not attacking a lady until asked often bewilders them at first. In the beginning, if not later on, they are inclined to think that American men are "devoid of sex life," largely because American men are in the habit — and this is a symptom of their attitude — of "letting Georgiana do it."

Amazon Appeal

Recently one of our more serious magazines printed a leading article in which two authors, in collaboration, indulged in the ancient sport of woman baiting. Their thesis was the ancient and recurrent one; their proofs

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were equally well worn: Economically and socially, sexually, women dominated modern civilization, and nowhere had this lamentable condition reached such an apex as in the United States. Everything, so the twin authors claimed, was written for women; everything was designed for her; all endeavor focused on her; the tone of everything was feminine; and her hero, the undignified male scorpion, was rapidly dwindling to nothing. They described this hero in reverse thus: "a skinny bookkeeper with flat feet and buck teeth," suffering from "debt, office worry, low vitality, bald head, eyeglasses, store teeth and mother fixation." Leading this homunculus around by the nose (but only when it was not possible to be rid of him) was an Amazon who nowadays did the treating, paid for pleasure vehicles, and discussed her undesired but at moments necessary adjunct with the nearest physician. One had a picture of that large tropical fish who swims all her life with her tiny husband attached to what might be called, delicately, the lower part of her chest.

A bull is always big, if you only look at its horns.

These Amazons find their male adjuncts "preposterous and absurd" and have, in the words of the collaborators, to "feel sorry for a guy before they can fall in love with him." And as one of the proofs of all this it is stated that nowadays women propose marriage to men.

What an earthquake of a discovery! Women always have. Nor does Marjorie Hillis' somewhat dangerous advice in her book, *Live Alone and Like It*, that "it is better to be brazen than neglected" mean anything except a change in manners. Only the extremely attractive woman dare pursue her males openly, and, if that has been her purpose, invariably she has.

The vision of the Lamia, the Vampire, and even the Amazon has always been luring to the male mind, especially the more or less intellectual and fatigued urban male mind. The intellectual and fatigued urban male mind has moments when such ruthless, overpowering, and amoral female figures seem restful. Their counterpart is the well-dressed, inherently gentle rapist so dear to the feminine imagination — the Rochesters and the Rhett Butlers — and, the less experienced the female, the dearer they are. But the point is that no sane man or woman would like these monsters if he or she met one. They wouldn't prove restful at all. And the second point is that, being monsters, they don't exist.

The very fact that men can still assume such a premise, the premise that female domination is against all natural laws, whereas it never occurs to women to assume a similar premise when the shoe is on the other foot, is proof in itself that man's still in his heaven and all's right with the world. However much women may rebel against male dominance, they have never yet considered it monstrous.

Economics Knows No Sex

It is indeed true that there are dozens of magazines published for women. It is indeed true that the majority of "consumers' goods" (one must be modern at all costs) is designed for them. It is indeed true that most fiction, in order to be profitable, must be read by them. It is indeed true that 80 per cent of advertising are directed at their attention. It is indeed true that millions of men spend their lives making things for women, millions more spend their lives selling things to women, and further millions sit up late at night figuring out ways to outwit the feminine pocketbook. It is also true that in the majority of countries nowadays women are permitted to go to the polls at stated intervals and cast their votes (in 99 cases out of 100 exactly as their fathers, brothers, or husbands are casting theirs).

But it is equally true that, with a few notable exceptions, all magazines, for women or otherwise, are owned and run by men. That most of the "consumers' goods" are made and sold by men. That women are not paid as well as men and that they haven't a quarter as much chance as men have except in those professions where they are absolutely necessary, such as the motion pictures, or in the arts, which have always been, in an unfair world, a gallant democracy.

As for the feminine power over fiction — the telling of tales — the collaborators forget the troubadours, who beguiled the ladies in their castles when the knights

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were away, and the fact that women have always been the novelist's main support.

Every supposed manifestation of woman's dominance in the United States can be traced to one source and one only, and that is the American woman's economic independence or, in other words, our early dismissal of the law of primogeniture. According to the *Journal of Home Economics* there are around 28,000,000 purchasing women in the country, and they control directly 42 per cent of the total annual expenditure. No wonder a number of males spend their time trying to capture that total. But this is a material importance, although only a partial one, and material importance, apart from spiritual or moral importance, has no reality.

There was a time when the consumer had dignity and actual power. Goods were produced according to need and desire. Now the producer is the aggressor, the full-armed male, and the consumer is his victim. Not even Casanova knew better the wiles of seduction than the present high-pressure salesman or advertising expert. They cannot sell to men quite so easily, especially the lighter and more changeable forms of goods. Men, for example, cling to their clothes like leeches. Only in his automotive life has man become feminine. Women remain weaker and less resistant than men, and, since man must keep his factories running to insure his profits, woman remains, as always, his principal dupe. Woman's apparent present importance is due not to any change in man's attitude toward her but to her numbers, her purse, and our mishandling of the capitalistic system. Her importance is exactly the importance of the fleeced sheep or the hold-up victim. She has to be there, but what of it?

The modern Casanova is first preoccupied with capturing his lady's pocketbook, and the rest can come later.

Last year the women of the United States spent close to $700,000,000 in what they choose to call beauty treatments. That doesn't look as if they were completely arrogant or sure of themselves. Any more than the fact that nowadays they occasionally pay cab fares or share the expenses of entertainment. It suggests competition more than anything else. Miss Juliana Cutting, who arranges the social lives of the New York young, says that nowadays at dances the ratio of gallants to damsels should be three to two. And the damsels have to plan for that extra man, as we all know. In my own State of Wyoming, which, as a matter of course on the part of its citizens, was the first State to grant woman's suffrage, entering the Union with that condition, the ratio of men to women is still the one Miss Cutting suggests. Whatever else it may be, Wyoming is not a land of bookkeepers or buck teeth. Out there a woman is still a woman, wriggle and twist as she may.

A Platform for Women

To the contrary, as most historians and psychologists have always known, it is not the countries where women have been given objective freedom that are in danger of becoming emasculated but those countries where in harems or behind purdahs they are forced to concentrate on the one great biologic power women have over men. Confine and channel a force like that, and it becomes forked lightning; turn it loose, and, although it may often be annoying and blinding, it is merely sheet lightning. Almost the first act of Kemal Ataturk when he wished to recapture the virility of his men was to abolish plural wives and turn them into adopted nieces.

Here are a few of the 64 arts of the male lover demanded by the ancient Hindu code of love: singing; playing on musical instruments; dancing; writing and drawing; tattooing; arraying and adorning an idol with rice and flowers; making ear ornaments; magic and sorcery; preparing lemonades, sherbets, acidulated drinks, and spirituous extracts; sewing; making parrots, flowers, tufts, tassels, bunches, and knobs from wool; solution of riddles, ambiguous speeches, verbal puzzles, and enigmatical questions; chemistry and mineralogy; and this, — the only one of the curious arts that comes natural to the American male — the art of obtaining possession of the property of others.

Imagine our football heroes, our captains of industry, even our magazine editors engaged in such pursuits!

Listen also to an Ottoman swain:

Heart and soul of mine are broken through my passion
for thy lips,
From the hand of patience struck they honor's glass,
to earth it fell.
Since Selimi hath thy pearls, thy teeth, been praising,
sense and heart
Have his head and soul abandoned, plunging neath
love's ocean swell.

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I have not yet heard of an American Tristran and I shall begin to become suspicious only when an American president abandons the White House for a lady's love. Historically, the dominant American woman, whenever she wants to create a sensation, has to go abroad. Over here, far from American men's ruining their careers for the sake of the sweet passion, the papers are filled with unfortunate damsels who leap from hotel windows because of faithless stockbrokers.

The American love potion is a cocktail, and its effects last only until the evening meal.

No, so far as I am concerned, women can pay for all the taxicabs they want — I wish they'd pay for more. They can also pay for dinners and suppers. Above all, for theater tickets. That's a swell idea! But no one will convince me that they are running the country until the following miracles occur (miracles that women alone can accomplish): The abolition of war (see Aristophanes for a possible suggestion). The abolition of commercial prostitution. The abolition of slums. The abolition of the hideous desecration of American scenery (the women in Hawaii did that). Insistence that males dress as well as females (this follows natural history, and American women have suffered in silence for years). Insistence that men pay some attention (mental) to women and yet at the same time — and this is no paradox — learn something of being both lovers and husbands. Insistence that the feminine body shall not be used for the purpose of advertising everything from winter resorts to cantilever bridges. Insistence that it shall not be used to swell the circulation of magazines (someday, ladies, you may have a son or two yourselves, and don't let anyone tell you that the more men see of women the less they think about them; that isn't good history). Equal insistence that farm girls shall not be hired by the dozen to appear unclothed before their fully clothed, wining-and-dining fellow countrymen and -women.

These, as I say, are only a few of the things women can accomplish, and the last three demands are more important than they seem. How can the principal dupe of our present mismanaged system look for consideration, even the modicum given the average male, if she will not respect the image of herself?

We are an odd nation. William Penn and George Washington would be astonished. In Paris — and heaven knows what the French won't do for money — they felt constrained recently to arrest an American dancer. And nowhere else in the civilized world, except under cover, can be seen such sadistic exhibitions as our burlesque shows or the flaunted delights of our Centuries of Progress. But Europe is learning. Paris is now advertising: *Burlesque in the fashion actual American.*

Finally — and as a symbol, perhaps, above all — I will admit that American women have achieved some equality with their mates if, on the next occasion, preferably a dinner party, when an intelligent woman expresses her opinions, the men present, including, it might happen, myself, will listen to her as if respect, admiration, and a willingness to learn were taken for granted.

When that happens in the United States I am perfectly willing to take my chances of being partially emasculated.

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Can Science Point the Way?

The Laboratory Approach to Life

by **ARTHUR H. COMPTON**

AROUND the white-haired wizard of Menlo Park were gathered hundreds of the leading citizens of his country, assembled to do him honor. Ether waves had brought messages from England and Germany. The President of the United States was speaking. Great as had been the influence of Thomas Edison's inventions in improving the lot of mankind, yet more significant was his introduction of the industrial research laboratory as an effective means of applying the powerful methods of science to man's immediate needs. Said President Hoover:

> Scientific research means more than its practical results in living comfort. The future of the nation is not merely a question of the development of our industries and of reducing the cost of living or multiplying our harvests or even of larger leisure. We must constantly strengthen the fiber of national life by the inculcation of that veracity of thought which springs alone from the search for truth. From its pursuit we shall discover the unfolding of beauty, we shall stimulate the aspiration for knowledge, we shall ever widen human undertaking.

In considering the human value of science, we are accustomed to think of the great changes in man's attitude toward life. Increased knowledge has ushered man into a new world, with a challenge for him to shape his destiny on a more heroic scale. Can science go further and point the way man's greater life should follow?

It was in the effort to find man's place in nature and to lay a reliable basis for life that the first studies of science were undertaken. *Of what and how is the world made?* was the problem set by Thales. To him and his successors science was of value if it would enable men to find a more satisfactory way of life. Likewise Pythagoras, on the basis of his broad knowledge of the physical world, established a semireligious order whose aim it was to bring about the rule of reason and morality. This ambitious objective is as yet far from achievement. Nevertheless, the many benefits that have come through learning the laws of nature have had their effect in influencing men to organize their lives on the basis of tested truth.

It is frequently overlooked that the scientific approach to life has not always been acceptable to thinking men. There was the historic protest of Socrates against the science of the Atomists, which he felt destroyed the basis of morality. In the hands of the Neo-Platonists this protest led to an antiscientific philosophy which overwhelmed struggling Greek science and opened the way for the flood of oriental magic and mysticism which followed upon Alexander's conquests. Then came a thousand dark years during which credulity in all forms of magic and witchcraft prevailed. Man thought himself in a world governed by the whims of demons and angels.

Even more than to the Aristotelian philosophy of Thomas Aquinas we owe to physics and astronomy the rescue of Western civilization from these depths of superstition. Galileo's studies of dynamics as well as his telescope showed that facts were to be found by observing nature rather than by searching ancient writings. Newton's success in solving the riddle of the motion of planets established in men's minds the fact that we live in a world of law. Great improvements in our welfare have come through applications of the principles of science. It has thus become evident to all that if we wish to make the best of life we must learn nature's laws and use them as our guides.

II

AUGUSTE COMTE once remarked that there are three approaches to truth — the religious, the philosophical, and the scientific. Let us follow his suggestion and compare the expressions of initiators of thought in these three fields as they consider the principles on

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which men should organize their lives. For the religious approach we may consider some of Jesus' statements, as given in Goodspeed's translation of the Gospels of Luke and John:

> See how the lilies grow. They do not toil or spin, but, I tell you, even Solomon in all his splendour was never dressed like one of them. But if God so dresses the wild grass, which is alive today and is thrown into the furnace tomorrow, how much more surely will he clothe you, who have so little faith? So you must not ask what you are to have to eat or drink, and you must not be anxious about it. . . . But you must strive to find his kingdom, and you will have these other things besides.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I am the Way and Truth and Life. No one can come to the Father except through me. . . . It is he who has my commands and observes them that really loves me, and whoever loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and show myself to him. . . . What I command you to do is to love one another.

Here we find the broadest of principles, the love of God and of one's fellow man, given to guide our way. There is little suggestion as to how this principle is to be applied, though Jesus indicates that it is sufficient, if faithfully followed, to gain the desired end of God's love.

Perhaps the best early discussion by a philosopher of the organization of society is that supplied in Plato's *Republic*. Let us follow Shorey's translation.

> "Wise in very deed I think the city that we have described is, for it is well counselled, is it not?" "Yes." "And surely this very thing, good counsel, is a form of wisdom. For it is not by ignorance but by knowledge that men counsel well." "Obviously." "But there are many and manifold knowledges or sciences in the city." "Of course." "Is it then owing to the science of her carpenters that a city is to be called wise and well advised?" "By no means for that, but rather mistress of the arts of building." "Then a city is not to be styled wise because of the deliberations of the science of wooden utensils for their best production?" "No, I grant you." "Is it then because of the brass implements or any other of that kind?" "None whatsoever," he said. . . . "Then," said I, "is there any science in the city just founded by us residing in any of its citizens which does not take counsel about some particular thing in the city but about the city as a whole and the betterment of its relations with itself and other states?" "Why yes, there is." "What is it," I said, "and in whom is it found?" "It is the science of guardianship or government and it is to be found in those rulers to whom we just now gave the name of guardians in the full sense of the word."

There follows a discussion of the place of the brave soldiers and the sober artisans in the justly adjusted society. In Plato's mind it is, however, clear that the primary requirement of the ideal society is that its policies shall be determined by the wise ruler-philosophers.

A different emphasis is given by that practical statesman-philosopher, Francis Bacon, sometimes mistakenly called the father of modern science, as he describes the organization of the New Atlantis. The Good Jew is speaking:

> Ye shall understand that amongst the excellent acts of that king, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an Order or Society, which we call *Salomon's House:* the noblest foundation (as we think) that ever was on the earth; and the lanthorn of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God.

Second only to the king is the president of their university, known as the Father of Salomon's House, who continues the account:

> The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible. . . .
>
> We have large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty, as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs. . . .
>
> We have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies perfectly and distinctly; as in the shapes and colours of small flies and worms, grains, observations in urine and blood not otherwise to be seen. . . . [Such as] these are . . . the riches of Salomon's House. . . .
>
> We have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published and which not: and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we see fit to keep secret; though some of those we do reveal to the state and some not.

III

If we view these three statements with the eye of a biologist, we see in each an effort of man to adjust himself more satisfactorily to his surroundings. The scientist sees the possibility through increased knowledge of the laws of nature to increase man's powers, "enlarging the bounds of human empire," thus giving to man a fuller life. The philosopher would find Utopia in a world whose civic life is suitably organized. The religionist sees in the social attitude of each individual toward his neighbor the fundamental problem of human ecology. The question of the means of living is to religion of negligible importance, to philosophy of secondary interest, and to practical science occupies the center of the stage. As we view the social changes that have resulted from the technical application of science, we see that these

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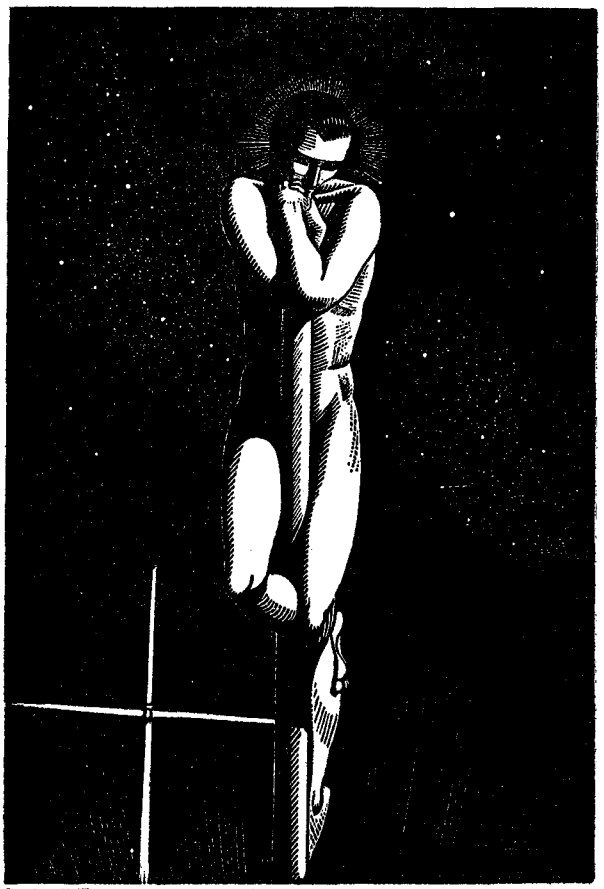

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are more profound and probably more permanent than those which have resulted from changes in our method of government. Yet, as the circle of our neighbors has extended from the house next door to the far corners of the earth, the need for adequate social attitudes if the human species is to thrive has become even more evident.

A common feature of these approaches to the human problem is their agreement as to the fundamental objective of life. The satisfaction of appetite and desire, the strife for preferment and fame are to religion of only temporary and illusory value. To the philosopher these goods are balanced by the equivalent pains of disappointment at failure to obtain one's objective and of disillusionment if one dwells on his successes. To the biologist these appetites and ambitions are of value if they lead the individual to act for the welfare of the human species but, if followed to its detriment, are unmitigated evils.

All are agreed, however, that life has an adequate and satisfying objective: the welfare of mankind. To religion this appears as the love of one's fellows. To the philosopher human values are the only true ones, from which humanism is the necessary deduction. The scientist sees that nature is not concerned with the individual but with the species. From the standpoint of evolution, all our effort to learn the laws of nature and use them to our advantage is an aspect of an organism's adapting itself to its environment. A species can thrive only in so far as it is successful in making this adaptation. Biologically speaking, the good man is thus he who does his part in enabling his group to live successfully. Mankind the world over now forms, however, a biological unit. Thus science, with all the weight of its body of tested truth, re-emphasizes the conclusion of religion and philosophy: *The only adequate objective of man's life is the welfare of man.*

IV

If the objective of life is thus agreed on, the study of the best procedure for approaching that objective is the peculiar field of applied science. Its noteworthy successes in meeting the practical needs of man in supplying the means of livelihood and living comfort and of improved health have given general confidence in the scientific method. Gradually its use is being extended into other fields.

In view of the unusual breadth of the problem now before us it will be well to consider what we mean by the scientific method. Francis Bacon, in his suggestion of "inductive" logic, outlines a procedure which, though it has been extensively used, is nevertheless of interest by way of contrast with that generally employed. Bacon proposed the accumulation of all the facts available, with the hope that from them it might be found possible to draw some generalization. The method almost universally used is to draw some carefully considered hypothesis on the basis of the known facts and seek for observations which will test the hypothesis. If no such test is possible, the hypothesis is scientifically useless. If the test is made, the hypothesis will be rejected, confirmed, or modified according as the results demand. The confirmed or modified hypothesis will then be subjected to further tests, until it is so well established that we can include it as a part of the organized body of tested truth which constitutes scientific knowledge.

The distinction between the scientific and the philosophical approach is illuminating.

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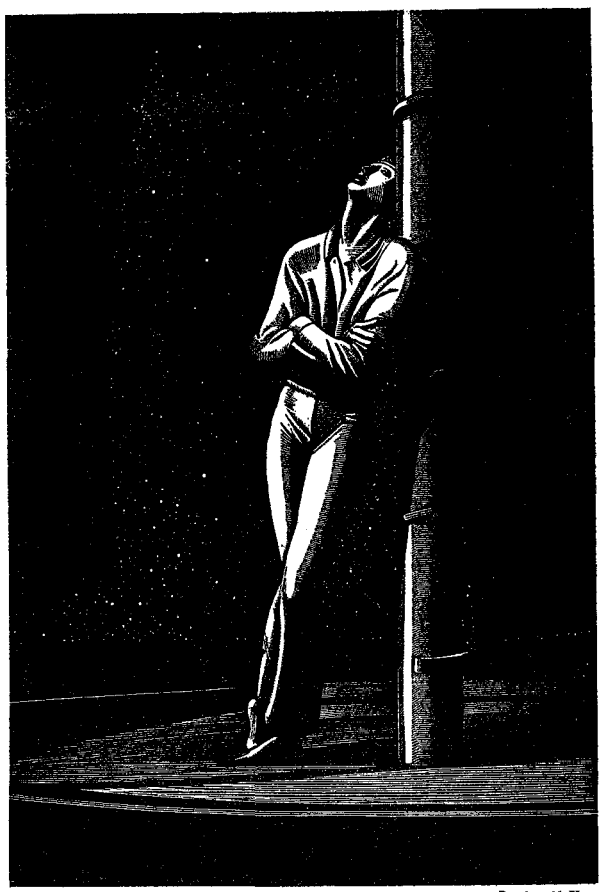
It is clear that philosophy, which concerns itself with all knowledge, must include science as one aspect. The distinctive feature of science is that it deals with aspects of knowledge which depend for their reliability on the test of experience, which in the natural sciences is usually an experiment devised for the purpose. Science differs in this way from logic, such as mathematics, whose validity is independent of such tests. Thus the formation of anatomic theory as compared with a continuum theory of matter is philosophical but is not scientific until the deductions from the alternative hypotheses can be tested. Similarly, Plato's philosophy of the organization of the state, according to which monarchy is preferable to a democracy, would become scientific if it were possible to set up two such states under controlled conditions and find which worked out more satisfactorily. The obvious difficulties of performing such an experiment show how the scientific method must be modified when applied to social problems.

In general it may be said that, if it makes any difference whether a statement is true or false, the statement is subject to test and may thus be approached, at least ideally, by the scientific method. The characteristic feature of science is thus that it approaches understanding by the cautious method of testing each step as it goes. It is for making such tests that exact, particular facts are needed. Occasionally these tests are inadequate, and mistakes are made. But it is evident that the procedure is much more reliable than if the tests were omitted.

In common with other types of philosophical thought, the very essence of science is the ideas which it embodies. At the early stage when a science is chiefly concerned with classification, these ideas may appear heterogeneous. When, however, the science becomes concerned with explanations and interpretations, the ideas become a closely knit and unified structure. Thus the sciences of heat and sound are incorporated within mechanics, and mechanics itself, as well as optics, have become aspects of electrodynamics. The dividing lines between physics, astronomy, and chemistry have completely disappeared, except for administrative purposes. Psychology calls on physiology and chemistry and itself becomes fundamental to sociology. Within its own domain of truth that can be tested it is thus as much the function of science as of philosophy to organize and to unify its knowledge. In fact, such unification is an important trend of present-day science.

When it comes to solving life's practical problems, science has its technique well developed. The general problem is split into specific problems, each of which is approached in the appropriate way. In the present case this means, first, finding the conditions on which man's welfare depends and, second, determining the most suitable methods for realizing those conditions.

Such questions as the provision of adequate food and shelter and of maintenance of health are demonstrably subject to effective scientific approach. The more human problem of enabling the individuals of a society to reach the best development of their various possibilities is an aspect of education, which involves aesthetic as well as quantitative factors and is an art as well as a science. Final solutions to such problems are never obtainable, because of the continually changing social conditions. Similarly the principles of a stable form of government best suited to man's welfare will always be difficult to establish on a scientific



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basis, because of the obvious difficulties of making adequate tests of proposed schemes. It is clear, however, that the continuous, active study of these problems by a group of unprejudiced and highly qualified investigators would supply a body of knowledge which would serve as an invaluable guide for the administrators who must determine the form of our society.

V

I HAVE HAD a small share in the deliberations of a group of some hundreds of research men who are concerned with supplying this country with better light for less money. It is a profitable enterprise for the electrical industry. Near the campus of our university the meat packers' institute is helping to solve a specific aspect of our food problem. A recent census showed some 1,400 similar industrial research organizations actively at work in this country. Research centers, great and small, for finding methods for fighting disease are to be found.

But, as Plato asks, "Is it owing to the science of her carpenters that a city is to be called wise and well advised?" Would not the well-demonstrated effectiveness of these research institutes indicate the importance of a greater emphasis of the same method in connection with the more general aspects of the organization of our society? A few of our universities have research departments of education. There is a Brookings Institution for the study of economic and political problems. But the need is great.

In a recently published article I called attention to the fact that the United States occupies a central position regarding scientific development. In India it remains possible for a Gandhi to persuade his followers that the works of technology are harmful and should be kept out of their lives. The Oxford don may decry the dehumanizing influence of science, prefer a pen (though a fountain pen) to the typewriter, and walk rather than ride in a motorcar. The American, however, cannot question the value of science and technology. They are his very life. Railroads, automobiles, airplanes; agricultural machinery, mechanized meat packing, pasteurized milk; telephones, radios, movies; electric power — if these were gone he could not live. East or west, north or south, we move away from the center of this science-impregnated life.

In our universities, science and the freedom to study all subjects by the scientific method are assured without question. Here are welded more effective tools for the understanding, interpretation, and guidance of life. Where, then, if not toward America and especially toward her universities, can a scientifically minded world look for leadership? The application of the scientific method to basic human problems thus becomes our proper concern. It is one of the primary social responsibilities of our universities to find the fields where the search for truth will give returns of greatest human value. Where the scientific method is fruitful we must see that society is given full opportunity to gain and use such knowledge.

Would it be too much to suggest that each department of the government should have associated with it a permanent, nonpolitical group of investigators, who, acting in an advisory capacity, would keep the department administrators informed regarding possible and desirable courses of action? The effectiveness of organized research in opening the world to our understanding, in guiding the development of our great industries, and in shaping the attack on disease can leave no doubt about the value of such a measure. Industry cannot afford to operate without the advice of its research laboratories. Why not permanent institutes of government research?

The power of the scientific method is established. The procedure for its effective application is well understood. Utopia, as seen by Plato, was a world led by rulers guided by reliable knowledge. May we not find in a more adequate extension of the scientific study of human problems the way to approach that goal?

"Apology for Man,"

by Earnest A. Hooton,

will be published in an early issue

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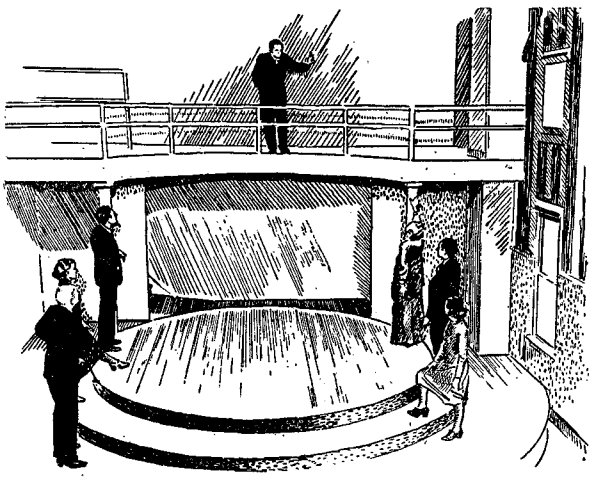
The Mind Is a Stage

Adjusting Mental Problems in a "Spontaneity Theater"

by **GARDNER MURPHY**



Drawings by Robert A. Harvey

Up on the Hudson River, at Beacon, New York, an imaginative psychiatrist in search of a therapy for warped personalities is making the vivid experiment of turning those personalities free upon a stage to act out, spontaneously, the problems that are disturbing them.

The founder of this original "spontaneity theater" is Dr. J. L. Moreno, a Viennese psychiatrist who is first of all a dramatist and an educator. The new theater is the embodiment of an idea he has steadily developed for fifteen years. He plans that it shall be, first, a clinic for the study of normal and disturbed social relations between individuals; second, a means of re-educating persons who are mentally disturbed; and, third and above all, a means of research in the fundamental questions of personality.

The physical plan of the spontaneity theater is shown in the accompanying illustrations. There are three stage platforms — concentric circles — a large one at the bottom, a middle-sized one, and at the top a small one. The balcony, a few feet above the highest circle, is really a fourth stage. The lowest stage almost literally melts into the floor of the theater; the audience melts into the group of players (for patients, members of the staff, and visitors all take part); and the action on the stages flows back and forth as individuals enter and leave the scenes.

A vivid and variegated lighting scheme responds to changes in mood, the ebb and flow of emotion or sentiment in the action. There are not only the fundamental red for excitement, deep blue for solemnity, etc., but there are new experimental combinations being worked out in testing the effects of color on the actors. Slow-motion pictures, sound-recording devices, and other means are to be used to get records for later study. But essential in the whole plan is the spontaneous liberation of emotion — the like or dislike, the friendship or hostility of the moment — as evoked in the group. The drama is to *give* life, not merely to *portray* life.

Personality and Environment

What has spontaneity got to do with it all?

Is not a human personality the result of heredity; early conditioning; the conflict of motives in childhood; the repressions, sublimations, and compensations through which the individual reached his present adjustment or maladjustment? So say the behaviorists, the psychoanalysts, and the "individual psychologists." Indeed, there is no real challenge of the hypothesis that you would know the present and the future if you knew the past well enough. We are told that, if we accept determinism and reject free will, the future personality must be nothing but the extrapolation of the past and present personality.

This is rather curious from a number of viewpoints. One may easily demonstrate that

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a given child is submissive in all sorts of situations in which he is observed; he is lacking in all self-assertion. The trait of submissiveness resides in his very tissues. Try, however, the simple expedient of putting him in a situation unlike the daily round of situations which he confronts and watch the changes in personality which occur. You had thought that you were studying "personality in general"; but really you were studying personality in only a limited range of situations.

Both to the scientist and to the educator, the implications are far-reaching. Perhaps the personality of each one of us is not something fixed within our tissues but is in large measure a response to the actual life situations which each of us confronts. We are not here concerned to repeat the truism that a new environment would in time educate us into new patterns of behaving; the argument goes much further than this. Perhaps *instantly* in confronting the new situation the old personality would be found to have disappeared.

The first step, then, in the consideration of spontaneity arises from the fact that knowledge of the past and present response to the world gives, at best, very inadequate material from which to construct any prediction of response to a new environment. The next step is the demonstration that personality somehow remodels itself best when left to its own devices in relation to the new situation. Spontaneity is not a metaphysical but a purely practical name for the educational effects of requiring the personality to find itself in an utterly new world.

"Free" Association

What kind of a new world is this to be? The world must of course be in some sense provided by the psychiatrist or educator. Let us consider one of the great assumptions and one of the great tactical triumphs of Sigmund Freud.

Life, under the conditions of our culture, involves conflict between motives and therefore the repression of some in order to ensure the expression of others. But, if motives are repressed, how shall we ever learn about them in order to dissipate the resulting strain? The answer lies in the "talking-out" method, the first step in psychoanalytic procedure.

The patient, on arrival at the doctor's office, lies down in a comfortable position on a couch, closes his eyes, relaxes. Starting from anything whatever — perhaps a symptom or a recent dream or a fragment of an early memory — he allows his free associations to lead him where they will. After a time, he finds great dramas of memory or fantasy unrolling before his eyes, pictures of relatively uncontrolled design, guided and governed ostensibly not by the need of solving a problem but by the sheer tension of the pent-up repressed forces.

But there is, nevertheless, a joker in this procedure. *How* free is "free" association? Freud "determined . . . unswervingly to ask every patient regarding the sexual origin of his neurosis." How the patient with ordinary intelligence could fail to tell what he was expected to say is hard to guess. And Freud asserted that all psychoanalysis involves a "transference," an attitude which Freud himself has shown to be intimately related to suggestibility. Free association is thus guided in large part by the mood, the emotional coloring of the situation. That a given particular individual, the doctor, is the best possible means of liberating the personality seems a little unlikely; but, even if it were likely, what we should get from the analysis would not be the personality but the personality in a single situation.

The word *spontaneity* is easily misunderstood. Adequacy of the person to meet each new situation is what is meant. One may be quite spontaneous although what one is saying is what one has said before; the cordial greeting as the postman passes may be equally spontaneous the first and the hundredth time.

The spontaneity theater is based on the recognition of two resulting principles: First, you can release the personality, by free expression, from the fetters of ordinary conventional rubrics, allowing the person to act freely and with a will in face-to-face relations with other persons. You can achieve both therapeutic and scientific results by allowing your patient not only to show you what he is but literally to create himself anew in each new social situation. Secondly, the principle of spontaneity must be reflected not only in the study of the way in which one person responds spontaneously within the group, but of the structure of the group itself, as made up through the mutual spontaneous choices of individuals.

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The Theater in Action

But, in terms of Moreno's conception of spontaneity, it is clear that the action in his spontaneity theater cannot be simply impulsive action. Spontaneity of the action will depend partly on wise planning of the scenes by the director. The psychiatrist in charge, with his assistant psychiatrists, plans a series of scenes each of which may be either a part of a complex drama or more or less detached from the rest. In each scene there is at least one "key person," the psychiatrist or another staff member, who portrays simply but vividly a life problem that confronts the patient or an act which is interpreted by the patient in terms of a personal life problem; the latter makes his own spontaneous response. Frequently the patient, especially if his ego is strong, may need to see each new situation unfold in this way, grasp its implications, and find himself in it. If his ego is weak, he may need to plan the action himself.

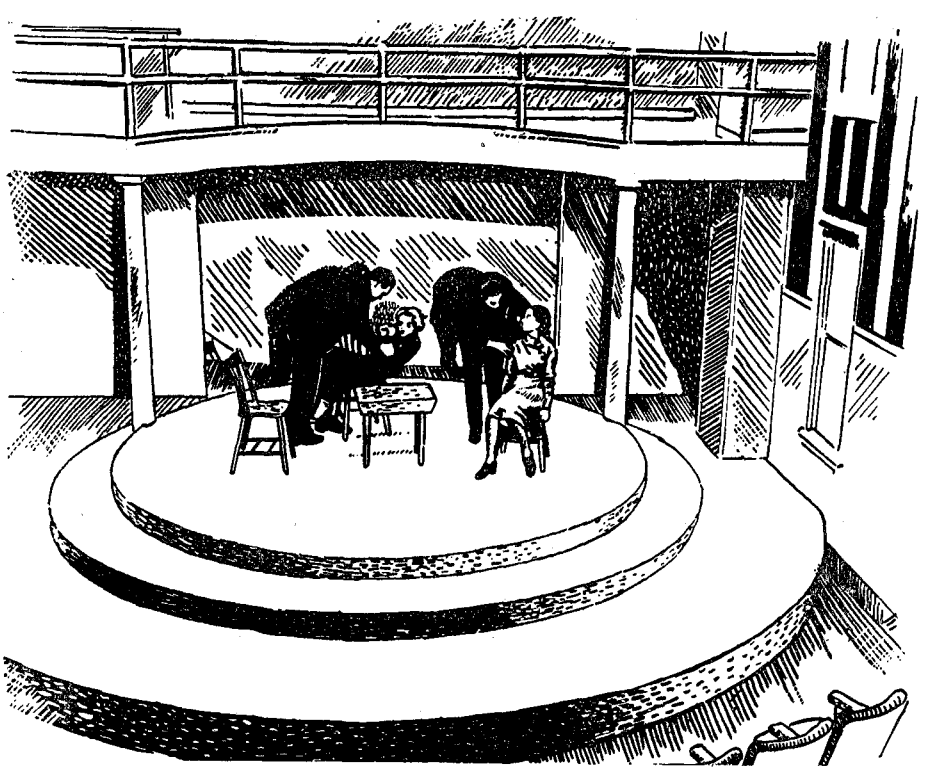
The key person, be he psychiatrist or patient, always knows clearly the nature of the drama, whether it is to portray aspiration, love, revenge, or despair. He warms up to the situation because there are living people about him to whom and from whom response flows. Occasionally an assistant psychiatrist, acting as key person, confronts an unexpected development requiring a change in the very definition of the scene which is being acted; in such a case he has the responsibility for the development of the unexpected trend. As a rule, however, therapy has to be the task of a central guiding spirit, and the key people maintain the lawfulness and order of the developed plan just as they would in any other integrated action where people achieve a goal under a leader's direction.

The audience will display all degrees of comprehension or confusion regarding this type of drama when first confronted by it. Some doctors, nurses, and sophisticated guests will understand the psychiatrist's plan from the beginning; others will get an inkling as time goes on. They may warm up and wish to get into the action. Patients whose own problems are quite different from those depicted on the stage may warm up only slowly. In other cases the psychiatrists will have asked a patient to participate in a certain scene. The key person is in charge at the moment and will know what degree of participation is useful in further development of the action.

Seldom will all four stages be in use at once. The physical situations will make it easy for those on the top stage to dominate and command. Those on lower stages will portray subordination. The person struggling up out of the depths will naturally move from the lowest to the highest stage, exactly as he would abandon a cringing posture and hold himself erect.

Successful Cases

To help the reader understand more clearly just what it is that Dr. Moreno is trying to do in the spontaneity theater, specific examples of the mode of treatment may be useful. It must be remembered, however, that these histories are, of necessity, oversimplified. They



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have been altered, in addition, to preserve the anonymity of the patients. And Dr. Moreno himself would not have them put forward as proofs but rather as suggestions of the efficacy of his method. It is not to be understood that the method is infallible or even that it is always the best method.

A boy of ten, a gifted pupil, used to hit his mother before bedtime and at parties in the presence of guests. A change of environment, suggestion, and other devices failed to improve his conduct.

The first interview disclosed that he had shown this violent behavior occasionally toward mothers of other boys. That gave a lead for the construction of the first situations. They were mother-son situations but they were on the fairy-tale level. One of the helpers acted as the queen, little Peter as the prince. When she put him to bed, he had to act as a prince would. He did not hit her.

He was placed in many similar situations in which his partner in the act was not only a mother but also a person in a distinguished social position, a professor, a doctor, or a nurse. Gradually he was moved, after he had been trained in more fantastic roles and scenes, to situations which were closer to reality and, finally, to his own. Parallel with the treatment, his conduct at home was checked up.

After the first few weeks of treatment, he improved; but when he regressed, at least in part, to his previous conduct the treatment was turned back to more fantastic scenes. The therapeutic situation was modified until it was identical with his own situation at home. Instead of one of the helpers, his mother came to work out the situations with him in the theater — first as the queen, then as a doctor, as the mayor's wife, the schoolteacher, the nurse, etc.

Finally the masks and roles were removed entirely. Every pretense or indication of fiction was eliminated. She was his mother, and he was her son Peter. Gradually, after a few months, the symptoms disappeared. It was a catharsis.

George was in the banking business and wrote poetry. Anne was an actress. They were both in their early twenties. During a long courtship they treated each other like superior beings. The situation changed rapidly after they were married. In the first interview George complained that Anne suffered from hysterical fits. She treated him like a prince when in public but called him names and used vile language when alone with him.

Anne's cliché on the professional stage was the sweet girl, the true and loyal wife, the obedient daughter, the merciful nurse. In the therapeutic theater she was placed in situations which were exactly the opposite of this, in roles in which she was expected to be more spontaneous and to use slang — as a maid, a waitress, a cook, somebody's girl friend for an evening. She hesitated at first but eventually began to look for these roles with delight.

Her conduct in her home was followed up. George reported after a few weeks of treatment that her outbursts had become rarer and that they had a more humorous aspect. It was then that he joined Anne in the work. She was placed in one of her "vile" roles; he was placed opposite her. Almost every day they acted as man and wife in some situation carefully prescribed and graduated to improve their relationship. The treatment succeeded within a few months; the hysterical fits disappeared.

Creative Spontaneity

It should be stressed that there is a close affinity between Moreno's work and the spontaneity trends so widely evident in the arts and particularly in the drama. The progressive teacher of dramatics spends much of his time today helping his students to immerse themselves in the individuality of the person to be portrayed on the stage. The memorizing of lines and cues may be incidental or at times may be downright dangerous. The free, genuine flow of personal forces in a student's portrayal of the action must spring from life rather than from the pattern of the printed page. But the dramatist needs the psychiatrist's help in studying what this does to the actor; and the psychiatrist of childhood makes use of toys, finger paints, and a dozen other devices for encouraging spontaneity, fresh creative effort, and fantasy in the little child.

Moreno's work is therefore not altogether unique. It is, however, a systematically worked out and productive expression of the modern way of looking at the creative forces within the personality, whose creativeness is never sheer *explosion* but always *utilization of a reality* in which the personality is embedded.

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What Is Insurance Worth?

A Debate

I—Life Insurance Cries for Reform

***by* EDWARD BERMAN**

AN IMPORTANT official of one of the large private insurance companies has recently declared

> The insurance-mindedness of this nation will be maintained by the same educational forces that created it, and will continue to withstand the criticism of theorists and experimentalists.

By "the same educational forces," he meant the life-insurance agents and the publicity of the life-insurance companies. By "the criticism of theorists and experimentalists," he meant the widespread public attention which has recently been given to the inadequacies of the private life-insurance companies. They are satisfied with their own performance and understanding of the business. They object to the attempts of "outsiders" to find out how the business operates, to what extent it properly performs its functions, whether its costs are too high, and whether certain major reforms might not succeed in better protecting the wider social interests.

Let it be said to begin with that life-insurance policies are safe; that policyholders are extremely unlikely to suffer because of the failure of the companies in which they have invested their money. Life-insurance companies are safe because they are required by the laws of practically every State to maintain such reserves that the policyholders' property interests could conceivably be diminished only by gross violation of the statutes.

If life insurance is safe, why be disturbed about it? The answer is that there is no guarantee that a person who buys a policy will get a return for his investment commensurate with his sacrifice. Even the safety of a spring lock may be obtained at too high a cost. Though no one doubts the usefulness of good suits of clothes, good houses, good motorcars, or good shoes, one may question whether the purchase of these things at such high costs that in the end they cannot be paid for is desirable.

Life insurance is no insignificant business. The amount of ordinary insurance in force with companies operating in the country in 1934 was nearly $81,000,000,000. The amount of industrial, or weekly-premium, insurance was in the same year over $17,500,000,000. The assets of the companies, which in 1900 amounted to only about $1,750,000,000, had by 1933 increased to about $18,250,000,000. More significant still, in 1932, the worst year of the worst depression in the country's history, the total income of all the life-insurance companies was over $4,600,000,000 and represented as much as 9.7 per cent of the total national income paid out. In 1934 the percentage was also 9.7.

Here is a business which absorbs a great proportion of the national income. On it depends the security of millions of persons. Is that security well bought or poorly bought? More important still, is it real security?

II

WE ARE fortunately possessed of a measuring rod whereby the net costs of the various kinds of policies sold by the private companies may be measured. That measuring rod is the experience of the savings banks of Massachusetts, some of which, since 1907, have been engaged in the business of selling insurance policies. It seems fair to assume that, if the insurance departments of the savings banks can sell a given type of insurance policy at net costs considerably below those of the private companies, the policyholders of those companies may be overpaying for their insurance.

The method of estimating net costs of various types of policies is too involved to permit

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of more than passing reference. Briefly, if one totals the premiums paid for a given number of years and subtracts therefrom the total amount paid to the policyholder in dividends and the cash surrender value of the policy, one obtains a sum which, when divided by the number of years in the period, gives the average annual net cost of an insurance policy. It is possible, therefore, to compare the net cost which would be paid to one company with that paid to another.

Fifteen of the most important companies were examined in this manner, and their net costs compared with those of the Massachusetts savings banks. For ordinary straight life-insurance policies of $1,000, issued at age 35 and held for a period of twenty years in the past, the company with the lowest cost required a net average annual payment from the policyholder of $1.38. The company with the highest cost charged $6.15. The average charged by all the companies was $3.43. By contrast, a similar policy issued by the Massachusetts savings banks would have actually resulted in a net payment *to the policyholder* of 26 cents. In other words, the savings banks would have paid out to the policyholders in the course of twenty years dividends which, taken together with the cash surrender value, would have been more than the total of the net premiums paid. The use of a large variety of other methods in estimating average costs yields similar conclusions, not only for this but for other types of policies.

The contrast is even more unfavorable to the private companies when one considers the cost of industrial life insurance, frequently referred to as "burial" insurance, which has been sold to millions of workers in the country on the basis of small weekly payments. The high cost of collecting weekly premiums, added to the fact that no physical examination is required in purchasing such insurance, compels the industrial wage earner who is in greatest need of the security of life-insurance protection to pay proportionately much higher premiums than persons who buy the larger policies sold in the form of ordinary insurance.

Why are the costs of insurance so unnecessarily high? The principal reason is the unsoundness of the method of selling insurance. Private companies sell both types of insurance through agents. The insurance agent is paid commissions based on his sales and, in industrial insurance, is also compensated by salary. For the ten-year period 1925 to 1934, 16.9 per cent of all the premium income of ordinary companies were paid for salaries and commissions. For industrial insurance the proportion was 19.6 per cent. Under the commission system the agent uses high-pressure methods to sell the type of insurance on which his own returns are the greatest, rather than that which best protects the buyer at the lowest cost.

Another reason for excessively high premiums arises out of the fact that the State laws under which insurance companies operate require the maintenance of reserves based on outdated tables of mortality. Although these laws are directly responsible in part for excessive premiums, it is nevertheless the case that the insurance companies have not been averse to these laws and, so far as is known, have made no effective attempt to have them changed, even though they used more up-to-date mortality tables, based on their own experience, in computing costs. Care in the selection of insurance risks brings down the actual mortality experience in widely varying proportions for various companies. The Massachusetts savings banks show a proportion of actual mortality to that shown in the table required by law far lower than that of any commercial company, due in large part to the absence of sales through agents who are governed entirely by their interest in their own returns.

III

Does life insurance fulfill its purpose? Only in a most inadequate fashion.

Millions of policies have been sold, and payments made to the insured or those dependent on him. But many other millions of policies have been sold on which premiums have been lost. Persons have been induced to buy insurance for which they were unable to continue paying. They have been induced to buy expensive endowment policies when, at a lower cost, they might have been as well protected by straight life policies. They have been induced to buy from one company when another with a better record would gladly have sold them insurance. In millions of cases, inability to pay premiums during the relatively short period before policies could be surrendered for cash has resulted in a loss of premiums paid.

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In millions of other cases, policies have been cash-surrendered for only a portion of the returns which might have been received had the insured been able to continue the payment of premiums.

Life insurance accomplishes the purpose for which it is bought in only those cases in which termination of the policy takes place under the conditions called for by the alleged function of the policy. Ordinary life and limited-payment life-insurance policies would, if they were terminated by the death of the insured, completely fulfill their function. In case an endowment policy is terminated before the maturity of the endowment, because of the death of the insured, such a termination may also be regarded as complete fulfillment of the policy's function. When term insurance policies reach the expiration of the terms for which they were bought or when death claims on them are met, they likewise fulfill their function.

When, however, a given amount of insurance in force is terminated by "decrease and withdrawal," there has been, as a general rule, a reduction in the amount of insurance in force because the insured has been unable to continue the payment of premiums and has surrendered his policy for either another one granting him protection for a limited term of years or life protection in a lessened amount. Termination by decrease and withdrawal, therefore, fulfills only partially the purpose of the policyholder in buying his insurance.

This is likewise the case of termination by surrender. The insured has of course been protected while the policy has been in force, but, generally because he has been unable to continue the payment of premiums, he has, if a sufficient time has elapsed, been permitted to turn in his policy and receive an amount of cash in return for his premium payments. Obviously the policy, when surrendered, ceases to serve the functions it was originally intended to perform.

The least satisfactory type of termination is that by "lapse." In a case of lapse, the insured, though he has been protected during the period when premium payments were made, has been unable to maintain the insurance in force for a period long enough to entitle him to obtain cash surrender value. When his policy has lapsed, he receives no further return for his investment. Such policies obviously fulfill the proper functions of life insurance least of all.

Termination by death, maturity, and expiry accounted for a total of 18.8 per cent of all ordinary insurance terminated with companies operating in New York State during the eleven-year period from 1923 to 1933. In view of the fact that most ordinary life insurance is of the straight life variety, it is significant that termination by death accounted for only 7.2 per cent of the insurance terminated during the period. In the case of termination by decrease and withdrawal, however, the percentage was 28. Termination by surrender accounted for 23 per cent. Termination by lapse accounted for 31 per cent.

The last figure is of extraordinary importance. It is rare that an ordinary life-insurance policy may not be cash-surrendered if the policyholder has held it for as long as two or three years. Yet 31 per cent of all termination during that period were by lapse, thus indicating that more than three tenths of all termination represented the cessation of policies because the persons who bought ordinary insurance, persons who are generally of the middle and upper income groups, were unable or did not desire to maintain their payments.

The experience regarding methods of termination of industrial insurance is even more significant. Thus termination by death for the same eleven-year period represented only 4.9 per cent of all termination. Termination by maturity was only 0.5 per cent of all termination during the period, a strikingly small proportion in view of the fact that for these same years 51.8 per cent of all the life insurance in force with the industrial companies were in the form of endowment insurance and that complete fulfillment of the purpose of endowment insurance policies can come only by death or maturity. Termination by expiry and withdrawal totaled 7.7 per cent. Termination by surrender accounted for 19.4 per cent of all insurance terminated.

Most extraordinary of all these figures is that for the proportion of all termination accounted for by the lapse of industrial insurance. The percentage was 67.4. If it is noted that by far the greater proportion of industrial insurance was issued under conditions which provided no cash-surrender privileges until after the expiration of ten years, the extraordinary waste of the nickels and dimes paid by

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the families of wage earners to insurance companies is obvious.

IV

It is impossible in the compass of a brief article to do more than mention many other serious shortcomings of the operation of the private life-insurance business. The payment of excessively high salaries to executives; the ungenerous character of many policy provisions; the fact that the companies require policyholders to pay 5.5 or six per cent if they want to borrow money on their policies (that is, if they desire to borrow their own funds from the companies to which they have entrusted them); the fact that the companies made numerous unjustified investments over the last fifteen years; the fact that the largest and best known of the insurance companies are to a considerable extent less efficient and charge more than many of the small companies — all these matters deserve more attention than they have heretofore received from the millions of policyholders in the United States.

Two other matters deserve mention. Most of the important life-insurance companies are supposed to be mutual in character; that is, they are in theory co-operative enterprises run by the policyholders. As a matter of fact they are in too many instances operated and controlled by a small handful of executives who do not hesitate in many instances to appoint members of their own families to remunerative positions and who appear to carry on the business as though it were a private enterprise designed to yield the largest possible returns to themselves.

Finally, attention deserves to be called to the industrial-insurance business. It operates so that that portion of our people which receives the least income is compelled to pay the highest price for life-insurance protection. The agency system by which it is carried on results in even more widespread overselling and in greater costs than are characteristic of ordinary insurance. Its terms to the policyholders are niggardly as compared with those furnished to ordinary policyholders. Only an insignificant portion of the insurance carried in the form of industrial policies fulfills the purpose for which it is bought. It is the type of business which has developed such social and economic evils that the policyholders would probably be better off if it were completely abolished.

It is time for intelligent policyholders to learn something about the protection which they are presumed to get and for which they pay such a large proportion of their incomes. It is time they ceased being influenced by the propaganda of the life-insurance companies. It is time they backed up a movement to secure important reforms in the operation of a business on which their own and their families' well-being so largely depends. Probably no better method could be devised to arouse the policyholders to the necessity for action than a major federal inquiry into the operations of the life-insurance business in the United States.

Decoration by Stow Wengenroth

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II—Life Insurance Is the Public's Gain

by **J. B. MACLEAN**

PROFESSOR Berman's article is essentially a summary of his recently published book. When that book was published, I called Professor Berman's attention to a number of more or less serious errors on which the principal criticisms in his book were based and which largely vitiated the conclusions he had drawn. He failed to reply and now repeats many of the same errors in this article. I am glad, therefore, to accept the invitation of the editor of THE FORUM to reply to this article and thus to have the opportunity of calling attention to these errors in a more public manner. In doing so, I wish to emphasize that I am not, in any sense, a spokesman for the life-insurance companies and that I am solely responsible for the statements here made.

Professor Berman's contention that the cost of insurance in the regular companies is too high is based on a comparison of net costs as between such companies and the Massachusetts savings-bank life-insurance system. No one who knows anything about life insurance will deny that, if life insurance could be sold without agents and without the payment of agents' commissions, it would be cheaper than it is. The fact is, however, that without an agency organization only a relatively negligible amount of insurance will be established. The total amount of insurance in force at the present time in the 23 authorized banks operating under the Massachusetts system, which has been in existence for some 30 years, is less than the average amount of insurance established by a single large New York insurance company in about three weeks.

The real question involved is whether it is preferable to have a very small number of persons insured at a relatively low cost or a far greater number insured at a relatively higher cost. From an economic standpoint there can be no doubt of the answer to that question. As a result of the agency system the life insurance per capita on this continent is many times what it is elsewhere. This is obviously a tremendous economic benefit.

Professor Berman thinks that agents' commissions are too high. The New York insurance law specifies the maximum commission rates which may be paid by companies operating in that State. In many cases the rates actually paid are lower than these maximum rates, and the average life-insurance agent earns no more than a decent living. If the agency system is necessary, as the companies believe it is, commission rates which will yield a fair standard of living to the average agent are also necessary. Any possible extravagance in that respect is checked not only by the insurance laws but by the force of competition between the companies.

The figures which Professor Berman cites to illustrate the relative cost of insurance in the regular companies and in the savings banks, although on a basis commonly used, are fallacious since they omit the factor of interest, which is vital in level-premium life insurance. It would appear from the illustrations which he gives that in one of the regular companies the "cost charge" for an ordinary life policy is about four and a half times what it is in another company for the same kind of policy, an extraordinary difference, while in the savings banks the policyholder apparently not only pays nothing at all but, in addition to getting his insurance free of charge, receives a "bonus." Whatever such figures may show, it is obvious that they do not show the true cost to the policyholder. The fact is that if a proper comparison is made, taking all essential factors into account, no such differences in the relative costs as between one regular company and another would be shown.

In comparing costs with those of the savings banks, Professor Berman omits to mention the important fact that, until recently, practically all the expenses of the insurance departments of the banks were paid by the people of the State of Massachusetts through general taxation, while the banks were exempt from the usual taxes paid by the regular life-insurance companies. Without these and other unfair advantages, costs would have been and in the future presumably will be much higher.

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Nor does Professor Berman make any reference to the difference in security as between the small individual savings-bank insurance funds (which, incidentally, are *not* guaranteed by the State, as many of the policyholders probably think) and the large reserve funds of the regular companies.

Professor Berman gives three reasons for the higher cost of insurance in the regular companies. The first, which is admittedly a factor affecting cost, is the fact that these companies sell insurance through agents. I have already answered that. With reference to the purely gratuitous and general assertion that agents use high-pressure methods to sell the kind of insurance on which they will get the biggest commission, irrespective of the interests of the applicant, I shall say only that no intelligent agent does so. That would be a very foolish and shortsighted attitude. The majority of agents are men of too much intelligence and integrity.

II

THE SECOND reason given by Professor Berman for what he calls the "excessively high" premiums is that the State laws under which the companies operate require the maintenance of reserves based on outdated tables of mortality. This is sheer nonsense. The use of the most recent mortality tables would increase, not decrease, reserves. No doubt Professor Berman has in mind the fact that most companies use the American Experience Table of Mortality, which is about 70 years old. This does not mean that policyholders are actually charged the cost of insurance by that table. They are not. The majority of the State laws, including the New York law, does not, as Professor Berman seems to think, require the use of the American Experience Table. The most recent general-mortality table available is the American Men Table, published in 1918, and the use of this new table is permitted by the laws of most States. The question of changing the mortality table used has, naturally, been considered by the companies as well as by State insurance authorities from time to time. It is well understood that there is no necessity for such a change.

It is true that premiums would be, in general, lower computed by a modern table than by the American Experience Table. The precise amount of the premium paid for a participating policy is, however, of no importance. Premiums for such policies vary considerably as between different companies. The important thing is the net cost, i.e., the premium less the dividend. Dividends at present are made up to a substantial extent of the saving in actual mortality as compared with the American Experience Table. If premium rates were reduced by the adoption of a new table, dividends would necessarily also be reduced, and the actual cost would remain the same or about the same.

The third reason alleged by Professor Berman for the higher cost of insurance in the regular companies is that their mortality experience is higher than that of the savings banks. There is no basis for such a statement. It might have occurred to Professor Berman that it would be strange if the regular companies with the far better medical and other selection facilities at their command (to say nothing of a much greater experience in the selection of risks) could not obtain as good a mortality experience as the savings banks, and, of course, that is not the case. Professor Berman's claim that mortality experience is higher in the companies is undoubtedly based on a comparison of the ratio of total actual to "expected" death losses as shown in the published *Gain and Loss Exhibits*. Anyone who has studied the elements of the subject knows that such a ratio does not and cannot give any information either as to the effectiveness of selection or as to the relative mortality experience of one company as compared with another. The reason why the aggregate mortality ratio of the savings banks is low is that by far the greater part of the insurance outstanding in the savings banks has been effected within the last five or ten years and is still, therefore, within a few years of the time when medical examination took place. If the corresponding business of the regular companies were segregated, the mortality ratio on that business would almost certainly be lower than it is in the savings banks.

III

I NOW COME to Professor Berman's second main criticism, which is that life insurance does not fulfill its purpose in an adequate fashion. The arguments he advances to uphold that contention involve two serious errors.

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The first of these is statistical. In order to understand the nature of this error, consider the case of a company which has been in operation for only a few years. In such a company nearly all the terminations would be from lapse or surrender. Very few would be from death or expiry and probably none from maturity. Clearly it would not be right to claim on the basis of that company's "policy exhibit" (which shows merely the classification of *current* terminations) that practically all policies were terminated by lapse or surrender. Until all the policies which had been taken out were terminated in one way or another, it would be impossible to say what percentage of all insurance issued terminated by death, by surrender, or in any other fashion.

The same thing is true with regard to the terminations in established companies, which all write substantial amounts of new business each year. There are, in fact, no statistics published which would enable Professor Berman to say what percentage of total insurance issued terminates by death, surrender, lapse, and so on. All the figures which he gives and which are derived from the published policy exhibits of the companies are merely percentages of current terminations, not of insurance issued.

The other serious error in this part of Professor Berman's argument is the assumption that, unless a policy terminates by death, maturity, or expiry, it has failed to serve the functions which it was originally intended to perform. I personally carry a substantial amount of ordinary life insurance. The purpose I took it for was to protect my family in case of my death during my working years and to provide for my own old age if I survive. I hope none of it will be paid at my death, because I hope to retire some years hence, at which time I expect to surrender my insurance for its cash value and to apply the cash value under some form of income settlement. Undoubtedly there are thousands of other persons who are doing the same thing and other thousands who have already done it in the past.

According to Professor Berman my insurance and that of all these others will have failed to serve the function which it was intended to perform, a conclusion which is entirely wrong. No doubt a considerable number of policies are surrendered because of inability to continue payment of premiums, but a vast amount of insurance is surrendered because it has already served its purpose. The provision for a surrender value in the modern life-insurance policy is, in fact, almost as important a feature of the contract and as much a part of its value as the provision for payment in event of death.

It is true that lapses, as distinguished from surrenders, are usually made because of inability or unwillingness to continue payment of premiums. It is *not* true, however, that the policyholder who lapses his policy has lost the premiums he has paid. He has had the insurance protection during the time the policy was in force. Where lapse takes place in the first year or two, that insurance is bound to be expensive, as the policyholder necessarily bears the costs connected with the issue of his policy. It is not very clear what Professor Berman thinks should happen in such a case. He also states:

> In millions of other cases policies have been cash-surrendered for only a portion of the returns which might have been received had the insured been able to continue the payment of premiums.

Well, why not? Does he think that a policyholder who paid three premiums, for example, should get as much as one who has paid for twice as long? If not, what does he mean?

IV

WHETHER the life-insurance companies could perform their functions more efficiently and more completely than they do may be a debatable question. The fact remains that during the past year alone the regular companies paid to policyholders and beneficiaries a total of about $2,500,000,000, a sum which must have been an enormous factor in the economic life of the nation.

Professor Berman thinks that life-insurance executives are overpaid and that they are frequently guilty of nepotism. For their chief executives the companies must secure the services of men of outstanding ability and character and, to retain such men, must remunerate them on a scale commensurate with that adopted by other large financial institutions. Any possible economies which might be made in that direction would, in any case, have an entirely negligible effect so far as the individual policyholder is concerned, because of the very great number of policyholders involved. This is not intended as a justification of ex-

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travagance but merely as indicating the unimportance of such petty arguments. In the very few cases within my knowledge where relatives of officers have been employed, the employees have been men of outstanding ability, and the policyholders have certainly lost nothing by their employment.

Professor Berman speaks of the "ungenerous character of many policy provisions." What provisions? The majority of the provisions in every life-insurance policy is standard and as required by the insurance laws. The companies are not responsible for them. Additional policy provisions not required by law (all of which must be approved by the State insurance departments) are, in virtually every instance, such as to give additional benefits and privileges to the policyholder or the beneficiary.

Professor Berman complains further that the companies require policyholders to pay 5.5 or six per cent if they borrow "their own funds." The rate of interest is fixed by a contract binding on both sides. The company must state in advance the rate at which it will lend during the entire currency of the policy, and it must loan and continue to renew the loan at the stated rate, whether it is low or high as compared with current rates. Policy loans are made on demand and without additional charges of any kind and may be repaid at any time without notice. They are usually of small amount, averaging only a few hundred dollars, and their administration involves a relatively high rate of expense. In these circumstances the rate of interest charged is fair and reasonable, and certainly the fact that current rates of interest happen to be low is not a good reason for altering the terms of a contract which may remain in force for 40 or 50 years.

Professor Berman says that "the companies made numerous unjustified investments over the last fifteen years." If by this he means that the companies have suffered some investment losses, he is right. The amounts of investment losses, however, have been very small compared with the amounts invested. It would be strange, indeed, if investments totaling something like $20,000,000,000 could have been made without loss during a period which included the greatest economic depression of modern times — or, in fact, during any period at all.

There is considerable misapprehension as to the cost of industrial insurance. Naturally such insurance costs more than ordinary insurance. Anything purchased in small quantities on a door-to-door basis must be more expensive. Because of changes and economies in management methods and in other ways, the cost of industrial insurance has, however, in recent years, been greatly reduced. Reference should likewise be made to the social services rendered by the great industrial companies to their policyholders and of which Professor Berman does not speak. I cannot refrain, also, from an emphatic protest at the statement made by Professor Berman that the industrial-insurance business has developed such social and economic evils that the policyholders would probably be better off if it were completely abolished. Such a statement is dictated by extreme prejudice and is entirely unjustified.

Professor Berman's final conclusion is that there should be a "major federal inquiry" into the life-insurance business. He is, apparently, not aware that life insurance (which is not interstate commerce) is subject to State, not federal, control. For the last 30 years the business of the life-insurance companies has been subject to thorough periodical examinations by the State insurance departments, with the fullest publicity in every detail. The life-insurance companies are operated under the most rigorous laws and the most exacting supervision which could be applied to any business. Another investigation would naturally be deplored by the companies because of the inevitable accompanying sensationalism and distortion of facts and the consequent misunderstandings and disruption of business which would be likely to ensue. No need for an investigation has been shown. None is necessary, and no investigation would reveal anything of importance which is not already fully known or which cannot readily be determined by anyone interested.

Professor Berman says that the companies object to the criticisms of "outsiders." I believe it is a fact that the companies have never objected to fair criticism from any competent source. There is no reason why they should. They do, very naturally, object to unfair criticism, whether honest or otherwise, from those who are not qualified to criticize and whose motives are too often quite evidently dictated by prejudice or malice.

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Maybe Parents Know Something

by **MARY EVERETT**

THE POST-WAR period has been characterized by a number of sudden and decided shifts in opinion regarding many things. Relationships long established in the Western world between the individual and his government have been challenged, and capitalistic society shakes and quivers as arguments full of sound and fury are hurled against it. Religion is more and more brought into question as a basis for living in a world built on science, and the collective security envisaged at Geneva seems in process of being renounced by all concerned. In the midst of these alarms, few people have paused to observe the surprising changes that have also occurred in the attitude of parents toward their duties as guardians of the young.

During the time that Hitler and Mussolini have been assuming power, parents appear to have been busy renouncing it. The tendency, at least, is clear: fathers and mothers have come more and more to rely on the advice and direction of laboratory experts regarding the upbringing of their children and less and less on such wisdom and experience as they themselves may chance to possess. At middle age (a trifle late, perhaps), I am beginning to wonder whether I and other parents have not been too hasty and trustful in thus relinquishing our natural responsibilities.

To be sure, mothers have been quicker than fathers to understand their manifold failings as parents and to turn from their mistakes, as these have been firmly and patiently pointed out to them by innumerable tutors. I have yet to meet a father who put much faith in the idea that the young, with preferences of their own, can be painlessly won over to cheerful obedience — that favorite dream of theorists. But the feminine mind is different.

In a recent magazine, a penetrating and critical cartoon sets forth this apparent tendency of women. In the picture a hesitant father is shown being led by a determined mother away from a parlor door, through which door Daughter may be plainly seen ardently embracing a young man. "Don't bother her, now," sternly warns Mother. "She is too self-conscious already." Father is visibly perturbed, but one knows that in the end he will be submissive. In such mild manner are our absurd fashions sometimes set forth for us.

What, indeed, does most of the advice to parents represent, if not something very like passing fashion? Only last week, for instance, I overheard a leader of a child-study group remark that a book published a few years ago was no longer of use to her. "They tell you something different every year," she explained, "and you have to keep up." And last night I read, in a book by a clinical psychologist, that everyone now admits the patent errors in the advice handed out to parents ten years ago by the learned. No wonder children reared under these shifting rules emerge with shaky and uncertain standards into a world where bad temper and laziness are, nevertheless, still regarded by employers with rather more disfavor than understanding — that word so dear to lecturers.

Granted that the tabulations of researchers, as put forth in multitudinous monographs, are properly regarded by the learned as groupings and averagings which may or may not be applicable to any particular situation, yet these findings are not in any sense so tentatively esteemed by the great army of untrained mothers who anxiously read them. Instead, these earnest seekers after wisdom (and who is more desperately earnest than a young mother?) set down these words of advice upon their hearts and engrave them upon their foreheads and raise a great storm over the simple matter of feeding a well and normal child or punishing

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an erring one. The partial findings of research are actually understood as final by most young mothers and are acted on accordingly.

On this point, I know well whereof I speak. Among this unhappy congress of anxious and distressed mothers once was I also, now removed from it by the grace of God and the slow passage of years. As Ludwig Lewisohn observes in another connection, "I know [all this] . . . not by hearsay . . . or through interpreters. . . . I have come out at the other end." He might have added, as honest mothers will, "through much tribulation." I am certain an increasing number of thoughtful parents, as they grow older, share the heretical opinions that I here openly express.

School and welfare boards, social workers and college training centers might, so to speak, keep their ears to the ground and listen to my friendly warnings: It takes a woman with a great deal more common sense and self-confidence than most young mothers actually possess to know how to evaluate and safely apply in particular the tentative findings of experts in child psychology. Especially is this true with regard to such ticklish subjects as sex, religious instruction, and discipline in general — subjects whereon numerous advisors to parents speak with uncanny certainty. In these fields, I think, a little learning is apt to be even more dangerous than usual.

The New Freedom

I am aware that by describing sex as a ticklish subject I am thereby relegating myself to the unhappy position of an alien unbeliever, ignorant of the chastening effect of pure and redeeming knowledge. But I know the arguments of the learned on this point, for I have studied them in seminars. As a parent, however, I remain thoroughly skeptical of the magical results so confidently expected from unexpurgated instruction in biological lore.

The real point I think is not how to state the truth clearly to a young mind; that is easy. How to surround the stark facts — now no longer regarded as secret and mysterious — with appropriate beauty is another matter entirely and an artistic achievement of first order too often neglected by laboratory chroniclers. I once overheard a young lady on a bus put the case quite neatly. "In love?" she exclaimed. "My gracious, no! I am studying Biology I."

It is still true (even in this enlightened age) that familiarity is apt to breed a certain kind of lax contempt — especially in the case of sex, where knowledge is often assumed *ipso facto* to supply the restraints hitherto furnished by fear, custom, or religion. The learned who write glibly on what bountiful results a copious knowledge of sex can be expected to produce in young minds almost unanimously overlook a strange truth pondered upon by moralists in all ages — that knowledge, in and of itself, does not always produce worthy action.

Here, of course, my critics will catch me up. "Worthy action?" they will ask, "How do you know so well what is worthy? Maybe the young can work out a new moral code between men and women, freer and less repressive of natural instincts." Thus badgered, I shall admit that I simply do not believe, with Mr. John Beevers, that natural instincts are in themselves to be venerated as guides to a good life. The literature of the world is full of varied argument on this point, and each must make his own choice.

My choice will not be favored by those who urge college students to regard themselves as new creatures living in a new age. Yesterday, for instance, in a bookstore, I came across a pamphlet addressed to the uninhibited on every campus. Therein I read that college girls may safely indulge in such pleasures as have been found to entail dire penalties on housemaids less well instructed in the facts of life. Any seasoned adult may well question whether nature has, in fact, any such tender and discriminative regard for those of superior education. Certainly parents even moderately versed in history, Scripture, and the classics will not regard the current ideas about sex as either astonishing, enlightened, or new. If I recollect aright, Greek drama is full of witness to the fact that love may be a most consuming flame; in fact nothing that Freud has to say would surprise the author of *Oedipus Rex*.

I am likewise convinced that a tremendous amount of damage has been done by the ill-digested condensation in various magazines of certain pieces of research bearing on the general problems of adolescence. In a recent issue of one publication, for instance, it is flatly asserted that "of course our children pet." The point at issue, the author thinks, is simply whether participants derive honest and mutual pleasure from this practice, hitherto regarded

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by careful mothers as "scarcely," in the words of Mr. Oscar Firkins, "requiring encouragement." Again, in another magazine of wide circulation, hesitant fathers and mothers are urged to remember that it is probably less dangerous to yield on questions of manners and morals than to "separate a child from the group." Verily, we have come a long way from Plymouth!

Do parents actually believe this kind of talk? Alas! I think it must be admitted that many of them seem to have renounced the common sense and practical knowledge taught them by life itself. The sad result is that children, allowed at fourteen to exercise the free choices recommended in the New Education, all too often choose, at sixteen, to try still more advanced experimentation. Thereupon they and their parents are apt — too late — to wonder whether the fruits of freedom are as sweet as advertised.

Where to Take a Stand?

Instruction in sex is easy to secure, almost impossible to avoid. Duty, however, is a word less familiar to those who distribute advice to parents nowadays. One would never suspect, from reading the current literature on parental education, that moral and religious training may be at least as important for boys and girls as physical education. Rather would one imagine that theologians invented the idea of sin and that a healthy body and mind (informed in the minutiae of sex) are the best safeguards against all the terrors and ills of this existence.

Many parents, equally adrift in the currents of contemporary skepticism, seem unable or unwilling to formulate better concepts of action and belief that they are prepared to offer as guides to their children. Under expert tutelage, they have attempted to interpret religion to immature minds as a moving force for righteousness; and morality as changing custom, right here and wrong there. They have found these concepts so difficult to implant in young minds that most of them, in despair, have simply given up the whole effort. And so likewise have the experts. The end result, as Mr. Walter Lippmann has penetratingly observed, is almost a complete break between past and present in concepts of moral action — a break which can be particularly dangerous in a period as uncertain, groping, and shaken as our own.

This defection of parents and teachers becomes more and more apparent in the young who, largely oblivious to the concepts hitherto accepted in principle, if not in fact, by Christian societies, seem nowadays to move in a kind of moral vacuum, unaware indeed of either trespass or failure. No one who has mingled freely with young people during the post-War era can have failed to observe that they possess few common concepts at all, much less any common standards and values. Yet what responsible adult doubts that a nation is forged as much out of mutually revered beliefs — even mistaken beliefs — as out of identical economic interests?

Discipline nowadays is neglected for precisely the same reason — that neither experts nor parents seem able to decide in a given situation what is good and what is bad, what is light or what is dark. How, then, can one venture to reprove a child, if one is uncertain of the real character of his action? Is one to overlook pilfering in a young child, for instance, because the volumes on instinct sometimes mention the acquisitive impulse? Because a parent recognizes that the gregarious instinct is natural, shall he therefore agree that his boy should join in nightly gatherings at drugstores and garages?

I am aware, of course, that those skilled in child welfare would be the first to decry these practices and would urge the substitution of more desirable outlets for this natural urge of young people for companionship. I am equally aware that parents in general do not choose this more difficult route of substitution but (human nature being what it is) simply excuse their vacillation by reference to various books on adolescence. I am certain that child psychologists would shudder to hear to what use I, a mother, have heard their scholarly arguments put.

For, no matter what radio speakers may urge, it is actually not easy and inexpensive to devise ways to circumvent and direct the impulsive desires of youth for excitement. It is easier far to let the young go their own way, and this is exactly the course that more and more parents have come to adopt, excusing their inaction by vague references to certain learned reports. Parents are but mortals, uninclined to assume the extra care and labor

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demanded by the substitution of desirable for undesirable amusements.

O Tempora! O Mores!

So far I have assumed most of the advice generously tendered by all these various aids to parents to be pure at the source, corrupted only in mistaken use by overcredulous and overzealous fathers and mothers. I must admit, however, that I honestly believe this statement of the case to be too charitable. Straight out of the mouths of the great and the wise and the learned I myself have heard extraordinarily foolish statements, as what parent has not?

Only recently, for instance, I observed a large group of well-educated middle-aged and elderly parents gathered to learn from a spinsterish "expert" of doubtful years how best to deal with the "postadolescent emotional difficulties of college students." Does anyone suppose that this amiable and well-intentioned lady, ignorant of life but armed with a vast amount of tabular knowledge, had anything of real value to suggest to that shell-shocked troop of parents, scarred by actual contact with the battles of youth? Or is it likely that college students so immature as to depend on others for "emotional guidance" will profit very much, anyway, from this training?

At another gathering of mothers not long ago I heard an erudite gentleman seriously suggesting that, in place of the usual concessions to Mother Grundy, unrestrained sex experience indulged in by young girls might afford a better basis for choosing a husband. "And for what else besides?" every mother there present asked — asked herself but not the lecturer, unburdened by responsibility.

Similarly, many case studies regarding children's behavior arrive at conclusions that perplex experienced parents. Who imagines, for instance, as is often soberly set down in these documents, that boys desire their fathers' company on Saturdays when school is out and other boys are free? In fact, one could characterize a good deal of the literature and advice tendered parents as partaking of the nature of patent-medicine magic. "Do this," writes one expert adviser, "and such and such will happen." "Try this easy device," urges another, "and your child will then sleep or eat or obey, or do anything else you please." Alas! flesh-and-blood children, like all other humans on this earth, very often prefer emotion to reason and pleasure to good works.

The Credulous Generation

The growing dependence of parents on outside advice is strikingly apparent in their attitude toward the schools. To observe most parents today, one would suppose that a child, once enrolled in kindergarten, is thereby removed to some vast distance and entrusted to wisdom superior greatly to any the parents themselves could boast. The schools have shown no disposition to resent this trustful approach but have confidently and cheerfully assumed tasks formerly delegated to home, church, and the family physician. In fact, in a learned discourse recently published I read that it is the plain duty of government to support in schools of various kinds *all* children to the age of 21. Anyone acquainted with the course of American history must gasp at this use of the word *children*. If these *children* do not desire to learn — no matter: the State can then, at some expense, teach them to wash windows or dishes or polish shoes. Does one have to remain in school, at public expense, any mother wonders, to learn these elementary household duties?

And consider the question of consolidated schools. On this subject school experts cherish opinions that, to say the least, need modification by the experience of parents who think for themselves. Few of them will assert that these enlarged schools have produced in children results sufficiently miraculous to compensate for the added fatigue and strain and danger necessitated by the long drive back and forth to a common center. Nor will many parents who have actually transferred their children (as I have done) from these larger schools to smaller units find their educational opportunities seriously diminished. That is to say, not if one is willing, at least in the early grades, to have one's children concentrate on learning what every generation before this has found essential — reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic, matters manifestly neglected in large schools nowadays in favor of the "richer life." That ambiguous term, in my experience, frequently has meant no more than making very ugly vases out of pickle jars or shaky book ends out of tomato cans.

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Parents have thus come more and more to relinquish the whole care and training of their children to others. Not only do child psychologists and welfare specialists and nursery-school advocates and public-health nurses relentlessly pursue the harassed and, by this time, timid and shrinking parent, but so likewise do the vigilant teachers and administrators, the Y.W.C.A. and Scout leaders. And from some of these advisers one sometimes learns astonishing doctrine — astonishing, at least, to experienced parents.

Parents forget that many of their advisers have never actually lived with a child in sickness and in health for 24 hours a day over a protracted period of years. It is no joke, as I once thought, that many of the lecturers on child psychology are often middle-aged and childless or else young graduates bent on social-welfare work. It is also true that the advisers who do have children are, by common consent, hardly more successful in rearing them than are ordinarily conscientious parents. Mothers and fathers, notwithstanding these plain facts (which they may observe by looking around them) continue meek and acquiescent, sometimes receiving instruction where they best could give it.

The reason for this excessive yielding of place by the natural guardians of children is not far to seek. It springs immediately from the genuine admiration of the American people for the achievements of science, which, in the physical and material sphere, are well worthy of the adulation lavished on them. Any mother who has received her child alive out of the hands of a skillful physician may well put her trust in research. But the case is not quite the same, I think, when it comes to the still disputed realm of behavior and morals, will and purpose. In these fields the best judgments of science are admittedly as yet hardly more than guesses.

Parents, it seems to me, have simply got to get used to the idea that they possess some claims to knowledge, to a certain wisdom rooted in varied experience, which they must use to check the sometimes ebullient conclusions of experts — however expert. It may be that, once they are stirred, they will go so far in revolt as again to undertake the difficult and at times truly disheartening task of rearing and educating their own children. Some parents have already set about this project, although duly warned by a young lady at the Y.W.C.A. convention last spring that "no parent is capable of rearing a modern daughter." To succeed in their purpose, parents will have to forget a lot that they have heard and read during these last ten years or more and from somewhere they will have to acquire more perseverance and backbone than their present wholesale surrender would indicate that they possess. No wonder citizens can be stampeded into wars. They are terrifyingly gullible, even about their own children.

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Hope for the Farmer

by **RUSSELL HOLT PETERS**

OF ALL OUR economic enigmas none has defied solution so sturdily as the farm problem. We have attacked it with all manner of theories; we have bolstered our panaceas with millions and even billions of dollars. And there it stands, as alive today as it was yesterday. It is not a problem indigenous to this nation, although we frequently forget this in our concern for our own troubles. It is not, most certainly, a problem of this particular generation. And we forget that, too.

We forget that farming has always been an unruly business in which the farmer first fights with nature for his crop and then fights with the city for his market. With the vagaries of nature the farmer can, in the long run, contend. If the drought burns him out one year, he plants hopefully the next. But frequently the city is too much for him; the products of the farm overtake and pass the food needs of the city. And when that happens — as it has happened — we have a farm problem.

Because the farmer is offering the city more than it cares to buy, the city sets the price. And because the city is no open-handed philanthropist, it buys as cheaply as it can, just as the farmer sells as dearly as possible when he is in control.

Thus you may correctly say that the farmer's troubles are rooted in the evils of surplus. There are other evils, many of them of great importance, but this is fundamental.

Three administrations have tried to cope with the surplus, but its extermination is still a pledge of the incumbent government. We have tried to dump it on our European neighbors; we have tried to store it; we have thrown it into the river and plowed it into the ground; and through the AAA we have tried not to grow it at all. And in none of these things have we been completely successful.

With the surplus we can do two things: seek its elimination through arbitrarily checking production or use it. There is no third choice.

If you chose the first, then you must continue the AAA in one form or another. You must set the farmer off as a member of a favored class whom you will partially support through benefit payments raised by taxation.

In late years our farm population has shrunk, but the demand for farm products has decreased so much more rapidly that 50 per cent of our farmers are almost useless to us. One half of those living on the land could, if need arose, supply our present food requirements. You must recognize this and assent to maintaining this surplus of man power on the farm so as to cut down the produce on the market.

Further, you must realize this is a semi-permanent thing with which we must constantly contend, except, perhaps, in years of drought or war.

Fortunately for the farmer and his self-respect — and for the nation, since her prosperity is inextricably bound up with the prosperity of the farmer — there is a second possibility. You will find mention of it in the platform on which the Republican Party campaigned last summer. The Republicans said: "We propose to promote the industrial use of farm products by applied science."

Little was said of it in the ensuing campaign, yet this was a proposal of tremendous importance. In substance it suggested that the farmer's lamb lie down with the city's wolf; that the farm and city recognize their common

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interests; that the farmer sign with the industrialist a treaty of reciprocity under which each would produce for the other.

Now to most of us the farm is a producer of food and little more. That may have been true years ago. It is not true today. You will get a more adequate picture of the farm if you think of it as a huge factory which still insists on including among its products whaleboned corsets and starched petticoats; which produces much more than it has any hope of selling; which keeps in production worn-out machinery; and which employs twice as many hands as it requires.

If it really were a factory, it would be in bankruptcy unless taken over by capable management. And capable management would discard obsolete products, create new merchandise, junk useless machinery, seek new markets, and put every employee to work or discharge him.

That is not only good business; it is the only type of business which can survive. And it is the type of business that the farm must become, if we are not to regulate its production.

Here is where farming for industry enters. In summary its creed is this: We can consume as food neither the present nor potential output of our farms. However, the farm is capable of producing, also, organic matter useful to industry. We will, therefore, make our farms into units producing for both markets. By so doing we will restore the balance between supply and demand, the lack of which has been responsible for our farm problem for more than sixteen years.

There is, of course, more to it than that. There are the questions of warehousing against lean years; of utilizing neglected products which may do the job better than commodities now raised; of seeking, perhaps, temporary subsidies until markets have been firmly established.

Our immediate concern here, however, is with research thus far available to the farmer and to the industrialist who link hands in the new farm economy.

Autos Out of Beans

High in the list and of increasing familiarity to the general public is the soybean. Older than written history in the Far East, it has only just attained its majority in this country, which has formally acknowledged its status by admitting it to trading on the Chicago Board of Trade.

We now raise soybeans to the tune of $35,000,000 worth annually. More than 5,000,000 acres are devoted to it. Its planting time corresponds to corn, and it is harvested in 100 days. As a foodstuff it is invaluable to diabetics and vegetarians.

What is pertinent, however, to this discussion is the growing use of the soybean in industry. There it has a powerful sponsor in Henry Ford, who uses the output of more than 60,000 acres in the manufacture of his motorcars.

Ford owners push horn buttons fashioned from soybean plastics. The trim which surrounds the windows in their sedans is of soybean, and they shift gears with a soybean handle. Soybean oil paints their cars and fills their shock absorbers. Their engines are cast in sand cores bonded with soybean oil.

But others than Ford pay belated recognition to the soybean. They include soap makers, linoleum and oilcloth manufacturers, paint and varnish executives, and a great number of industrialists, such as radio builders, who have use for plastics.

Illinois is the patron saint of the soybean, producing more than half the nation's crop. But other States are scrambling to catch up, and the real danger now is that, fascinated by news of the soybean and its value, many farmers will plant it in unfavorable soil. And be worse off than before.

The Versatile Pine Tree

The South, looking for another industrial crop than cotton, is pinning its present hope on the slash-pine tree. In the warm South slash pine can be grown like a crop in a ten-year cycle. And the South has great plans for slash pine. Most of them spring from the researches of Dr. Charles H. Herty of Savannah, Georgia.

Dr. Herty has made newsprint from slash-pine pulp, and entire editions of newspapers have been printed on it. As this is written, the South has apparently won a long fight to finance and build a newsprint mill utilizing slash-pine pulp. It would free the South from importing its newsprint and keep the money at home. And the South would like that.

Last autumn Dr. Herty made the most start-

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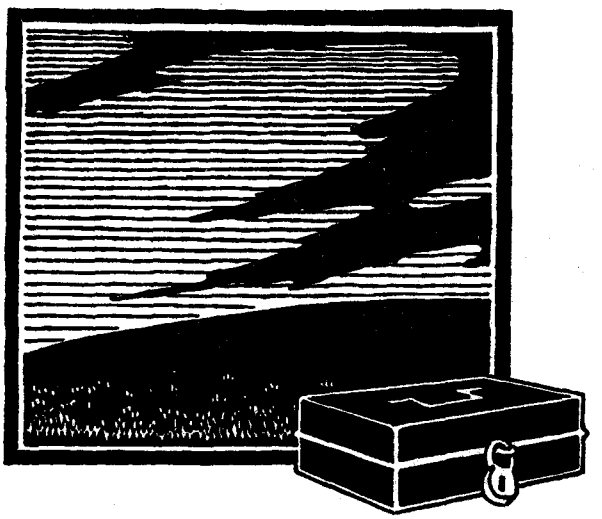

ling of his several startling announcements on the subject — that he had found fat in the woody part of his beloved trees. In a lyrical dispatch from Savannah the science editor of the Associated Press said:

> Shakespeare found sermons in stones. Now Dr. Charles H. Herty has discovered fat in sticks of high commercial value.
>
> The fat discovery was announced from the pulp and paper laboratory of Savannah where, for more than two years, Dr. Herty, white-haired scientific magician of chemistry, has been seeking a way to make bond and book paper and clothing from the south's huge pine forests.
>
> His discovery of fat in the woody part of the trees and a cheap, easy way to extract it solved the paper problem. The south, he said, can make its trees immediately available for unlimited manufacture of the finest bond and book papers.
>
> Preliminary experiments indicate, too, that removal of the fat may solve the clothing problem. The south has enough pine to clothe the whole world in rayon if it can be made from trees there the same as it is now made from northern spruce.
>
> The tree fat also offers a new industry to the present newsprint manufacturing business, Dr. Herty said. For he found the same fat in spruce trees from which the world's present supply of newsprint and most of its white paper is made.
>
> The fat in trees closely resembles that in human beings and animals. It will make also in almost unlimited quantities the kind of soap the mining industry is looking for to "float" its ores.
>
> This fat will make paint, too, for it contains linoleic acid. It has also oleic acid, one of the recently found essentials of life in human tissues. The tree fats can supply the medical profession with endless quantities of cheap oleic acid for experiments.
>
> The fats also contain a lot of waxes. One of them is chloresterol from which Vitamin D can be made.

Cotton to Build Roads

Farther west, where cotton is king, its producers hope for something from the present experiments of the government in road building. With an appropriation of $1,300,000 for experimental work, the government is studying the use of cotton mesh as a binder on macadam roads. Nineteen interested States have also made appropriations for the same purpose, and 565 miles of highway have either been given or are in the process of being given a cotton dress.

The cotton mesh is being used with macadam much as wire mesh is used with concrete. Chief argument for the cotton-treated road is a sizable reduction in maintenance cost. Because it resists upward pressure and makes the road almost waterproof, it is of great interest to the North, where sharp freezes destroy many miles of highway every winter.

To give a road a cotton treatment — and these treated roads are not trunk highways but secondary or farm-to-market roads — requires from eight to ten bales of cotton per mile. The south estimates that there is a potential market of 900,000 miles of highway for its cotton crop, or a maximum of 9,000,000 bales. Except for huge crop years, that is not far under an entire year's output.

Industrial Alcohol

These alliances of farming and industry are important. Someday they will be more so. Yet, for sheer magnitude, they cannot compete with an alliance now being fostered in the Middle West. It contemplates the linking of the farm and the distillery in the production of power alcohol.

For almost 30 years the farmer and the distiller have blown hot and cold on a program of mutual aid. Once, at least, they got together. Now they are together again, and alcohol is actually being produced for the sole purpose of supplying power through use in automobile engines.

In the United States, oil men have no use for power alcohol. Its production, they say, is an economic chimera, its value as fuel subject to great doubt. In Europe the tune is different, and later you will read of this in greater detail. It is sufficient here to say this clash of opinion between the petroleum producer and the power-alcohol advocate has produced an amazing collection of contradictory statements and figures.

If you are technically minded you can get them without difficulty. What is important is that automobiles actually *can* be operated on a gasoline-alcohol mixture. Someday — and

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this is chemically possible — they may even be operated on alcohol alone.

Therefore, says the Middle West, we will produce for the alcohol market. And it is actually doing so in a small plant at Atchison, Kansas, first power-alcohol unit this country has known.

The Atchison plant opened last summer and shipped its first consignment last fall into Nebraska, where alcohol used as fuel is tax free by legislative edict. The plant is deliberately modest in size. It employs about 35 men, produces on a basis of 3,500,000 gallons of alcohol annually, and requires 1,500,000 bushels of corn or its equivalent as raw material each year. Larger plants, its sponsors say, are not efficient. They must reach out too far for their materials. At that, according to plant executives, it requires the labor of 2,000 men in the fields to keep it in supplies.

When tentative operating figures were being drawn for it a year ago, corn was down. Setting an arbitrary price of 23 cents a gallon on alcohol to be produced, the balance sheet per bushel of corn worked out like this:

2.7 gals. alcohol at 23¢	62.1¢
15 lbs. protein feed at 1.5¢ per pound	22.5
8 lbs. carbon dioxide (for dry ice) at 1¢	8.0
TOTAL	92.6¢

Against this was set plant overhead, depreciation, a reasonable return on investment, and the cost of raw material. The first three were estimated at 9.5 cents per gallon, or 25.6 cents per bushel of corn. That left 76 cents for corn.

Now as a matter of fact, when the Atchison plant got down to the actual business of producing, the drought had come, and corn was skyrocketing.

At the time it must have been an unfortunate thing for the operators. To the farming Middle West, however, it was a blessing even though it had come in an unpleasant disguise. For it brought out sharply, at the very outset, the one great barrier to an alliance of farming and industry. And that is the widely fluctuating price of farm products.

No manufacturer accustomed to a reasonable idea of the future cost of his raw materials could be expected to contend with the fantastic price swings which have characterized agriculture during the past ten years.

In Atchison, almost overnight, the distillers saw their careful calculations destroyed by dying fields. They saw, on a small scale, what industry as a whole would see if provision were not made for this sort of thing. Perhaps warehousing against lean years will provide a partial answer. But in Atchison the lean year had already arrived, and they searched for another solution. From this search have come two things, one of them unique and both highly important to future farming.

First they arranged to have crops grown for them exclusively, on a contract basis, much as is done in the sugar-beet fields. Second and of much greater moment, they arranged for crops which they felt might be more satisfactory than corn for the production of alcohol.

In short, they laid the foundation for a self-contained industrial-agricultural unit, farming members of which will be assured an outlet for their crops and a reasonable price for them. The distillers, on their part, will receive raw material best suited to their needs and a stabilized price.

To return to our analogy of the farm as a factory, you find these things happening to the acreage around Atchison: Outmoded merchandise — in this instance corn — is being replaced by new and salable products. And it will not be dumped, willy-nilly, into an overcrowded market, but is already assured of its sales outlet. For the farm this is revolutionary.

Specifically, the distillers are asking the farmers to supply them with Jerusalem artichokes, the better varieties of sweet potatoes, and saccharine sorghums, all of them first-rate

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materials for the alcohol industry. For purposes of experimentation the farmers have been asked to make small plantings of these crops so that accurate yield figures, under practical farming conditions, may be obtained.

Says an official of the alcohol company:

> As a result of these experiences it is hoped that a crop can be found which will yield the farmer a better return per acre than he is now obtaining and which will supply the plant with a uniform flow of raw materials at a favorable price.

Of these crops the most interesting to the Middle West today is the Jerusalem artichoke, which is not from Jerusalem and is not an artichoke. It is, instead, a tuberous plant that has a second name of girasole.

Years ago it was considered a weed. Farmers spent many back-breaking hours rooting it from their soil. As a matter of history, it was a food crop cultivated by the Indians.

It has three qualities that make it of special interest to the Middle West: it can exist and mature with almost no moisture; it produces, under favorable conditions, an enormous crop; and it contains within itself the ability both to fatten livestock and to give up levulose, sweetest and most soluble of sugars.

This last property is of particular interest to the distiller. The first is of particular importance to a country that has known a succession of disastrously dry years.

Will It Work?

Thus far we have been concerned with the problems of manufacture at Atchison. And those are the real problems, for marketing at present is no problem at all and probably will not become a problem until the number of alcohol plants greatly increases.

Before the Atchison plant turned out a single gallon, requests had been made for five times its capacity. Most of them came from independent petroleum dealers and from farmer co-operatives. And out where corn is raised these are not inconsiderable outlets.

The thought is to provide these distributors with two blends, one containing ten per cent alcohol, the other twenty. The first is designed to compete with standard-grade gasoline, the second with premium or ethyl grade. The farm chemists claim they are comparable in quality, and to agree or disagree is to let yourself in for a terrific argument.

From the petroleum men you will hear these blends criticized as chemically inefficient, economically ridiculous, and, as a substitute for crude, not comparable on a price basis with fuel secured through hydrogenation of coal.

The farm chemist will probably refer you to Europe, where not only are alcohol blends commonplace but where they are actually required in some instances by government edict, in order to hold down petroleum imports. And he will certainly mention at least two American companies selling in the European market.

These companies, he says and correctly, are marketing blends to the accompaniment of considerable ballyhoo. One of them is even calling its blend the "most perfect fuel known." How, he asks, can gasoline plus alcohol be perfect in Europe and unworthy of consideration in the United States?

The farm chemist will also lead you into a discussion of dwindling petroleum supplies in the United States and the need for their conservation, a question so vast and so subject to dispute that its proper treatment would require many pages.

Finally, he will bolster his argument for blends by saying that substitution of only ten per cent alcohol would require no less than 1,600,000,000 gallons, judged by the present motor-fuel requirements of the nation. To raise raw material for that much alcohol would require the services of 1,500,000 men in the fields and distilleries. It would displace no distributors. It would require 600,000 bushels of corn or their equivalent, which is one fourth of a normal corn crop and 40 per cent of the 1936 crop. It would mean the construction of 500 plants similar to that in Atchison. Best of all it would be a major solution of the surplus problem.

Still in the background but in process of development are other brain children of the agricultural laboratories. There are the products of the amazing federal farm-waste laboratory at Ames, Iowa, a farmhouse of magic which is ready to turn waste into dollars when we have disposed of the problem of surplus. There is a new by-product of the starch industry not far from commercial development. And the list expands indefinitely. Its only end point is the imagination of the organic chemist, who is possessed of incredible imaginings.

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After the Steppe Cat, What?

by **JAMES THURBER**

THERE ARE many signs which indicate that our civilization is on the wane, and these are to be seen not only in the economic, political, and military phenomena of our dying day, which are portentously analyzed in every periodical one picks up, but also in a tiny phenomenon here, a small paragraph there. Poets have a quick eye to detect these minute portents of the approaching end. The clairvoyant Stephen Vincent Benét was probably just one step ahead of actuality when he wrote of observing a termite which held in its tiny jaws a glittering crumb of steel. Morris Bishop, another seer who views tomorrow clearly, has written of the time when in the mothproof closet will dwell the moth.

It is all very interesting to indulge in polysyllabic discussions of dialectical materialism and dialectical idealism, of democracy and the totalitarian state, of Marxist hope and capitalist illusion, but I am more interested in wondering whether the fleck of dust that got in my eye yesterday may not have been all that was left of a planet like ours which burned out a million years ago, ten hundred billion miles away. Perhaps I was struck with that wonder because once in Carthage, two thousand years ago, the gleam of a Roman shield got in my eye or a speck of that sand which was to conquer the very conquerors of one of the oldest and strongest civilizations known to man. A bit of steel glittering here, a moth fluttering there, a handful of dust in the air: these are the signs of doom.

Perhaps some manifestations of the sort always accompany any politico-social collapse. Then again, who is there to say for sure that political and social collapse doesn't merely accompany such manifestations? Which reached Rome first, the Visigoth or the wolf? It is a momentous question, calling for a great amount of research, and I am sorry I haven't got space to pursue it. I have space for only a few random notes on this general theme, which may haply lead some scientist — or some poet — to a more exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Let us look, first, at a paragraph in the *New York Times*, not long ago, by its Berlin correspondent, Mr. Otto D. Tolischus.

> This winter's extraordinary character is already arousing concern for this year's crops; and in addition, certain districts, especially Silesia, complain of a veritable plague of rats and mice. German agricultural quarters are now engaged in a hot public debate regarding charges that the many draining, land reclamation, and river regulation projects the National Socialist regime has undertaken are so interfering with the country's water economy as to turn Germany gradually into a steppe. There are assertions by experts that certain unmistakeable steppe animals and plants are already beginning to make themselves at home in Germany.

Here we see how the Nazi land-reclamation engineers are beginning to make Germany into a steppe, exactly as the United States' land-*wasting* pioneers began to make this country into a Sahara. There would appear to be no way out, in a time of world decay, no matter what you do. It proceeds by curious, inexorable laws of its own, this ending of a jaded civilization, that a new way of life may begin. Nature helps along the destruction by sending her rodents in hordes to gnaw at the very foundations of man's existence. Thus rats and mice appear in Silesia — and don't get one hundredth the attention that LaGuardia got when he gnawed only at German pride. And yet these rodents are a hundred times more important, for they will outlast LaGuardia — and German pride, too — as the mollusks from which Tyrian dye was made have outlived Tyre and the Tyrians.

The desert into which America is turning is perhaps more familiar than the steppe into which Germany is changing. A steppe is a large tract of arid land characterized by xerophilous vegetation — that is, plant life that can stand the absence or scarcity of moisture. It is a primitive sort of land, flat and treeless, suitable

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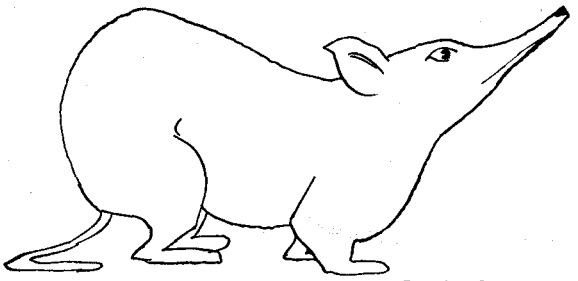


Drawings by the author

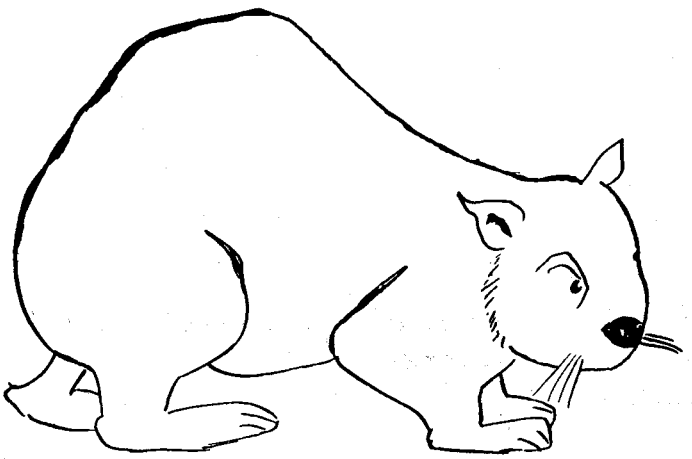
The Bandicoot

for open warfare, fit for man and his activities in the last stages of a civilization. Among the "unmistakeable steppe animals" that will eventually trot into Berlin is the steppe cat, a small wildcat. It has grayish-white fur, useful as camouflage in the open spaces, but it is interesting to note that it also has blackish transverse bands, a coloration obviously developed by nature to serve as camouflage when it finally reaches the cities, where it can creep unnoticed between car tracks and behind picket fences.

Walter Lippmann recently insisted in the *Atlantic Monthly* that "Communism and fascism are not only much alike as systems of government; they are alike in the inwardness of their purpose." To which I feel impelled to add that the systems and purposes of man are all one to the steppe cat. And to the termite, the rat, the mouse, the grasshopper, the locust, the caterpillar, the weevil, the wombat, the rabbit, the aardvark, the bandicoot, the Scotch terrier, the cockroach, the coddling moth, and the Colorado potato beetle, to name just a few of the thousands of insects and animals that will go to town with the steppe cat when the Great Invasion begins.

Skirmishers of Decay

In the olden days, of which Omar sang, it was the lion and the lizard that moved sleepily into the courtyard of the palace; they had no system and no purpose, so that man, rising again from the ashes of his ruined civilization, could easily oust them. The next and greatest invasion of the lower species will find, I think, all the living things, with a kind of planned economy, moving in on man, who has too long been keeping a hostile and fearful eye on his fellow man, to the exclusion of any interest in the steppe cat and the steppe cat's million allies. Pick up any large dictionary and turn the pages — you'll have to turn only one or two — till you come to the picture of a pest of some sort. In the majority of cases you will find under its name these descriptive phrases: "now widely distributed" and "often causing great damage." There is a bug that works at the foundation of houses; there is one that destroys each kind of tree; there is one that gets into tea



The Wombat

and spices; there is one that specializes in the ruining of tobacco; there is even one, common to the Congo, that seeks to inhabit the human eye.

Working quietly through the ages, the insects and the rodents, at once specialists and collectivists, have prepared themselves, I believe, to take over the world. I see no reason to believe that they will not make a better job of it than man. One July day in 1863 a handful of troopers rode idly into a town called Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania. The inhabitants glanced at them and went about their business. There could be no war in that little town; the troopers would ride away. Two or three steppe cats are observed in Germany, and the fact is recorded briefly on page 8 of the *New York Times*.

Not long ago Dr. Earnest A. Hooton, Harvard professor of anthropology and President of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, announced in a lecture that man is deteriorating — in behavior, in physique, and in intelligence. This was not news to those of us who have our ears to the steppe. I think it also quite probable that it was not news to the steppe cat. In the course of his talk Dr. Hooton pointed out that man has not added any new domestic animals to his collection since the time when animals were first put to use. He

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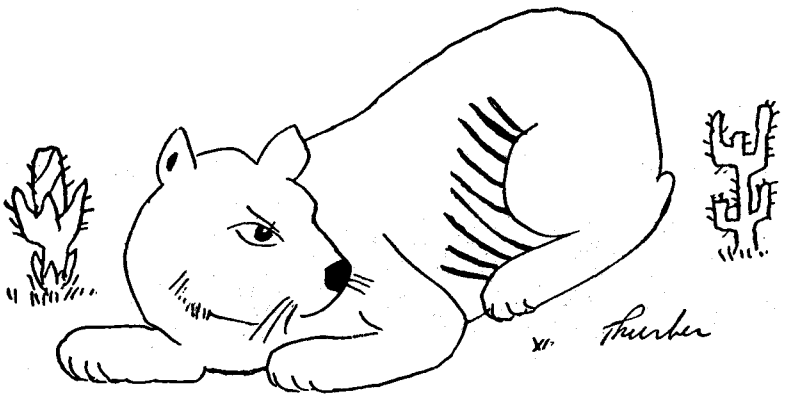
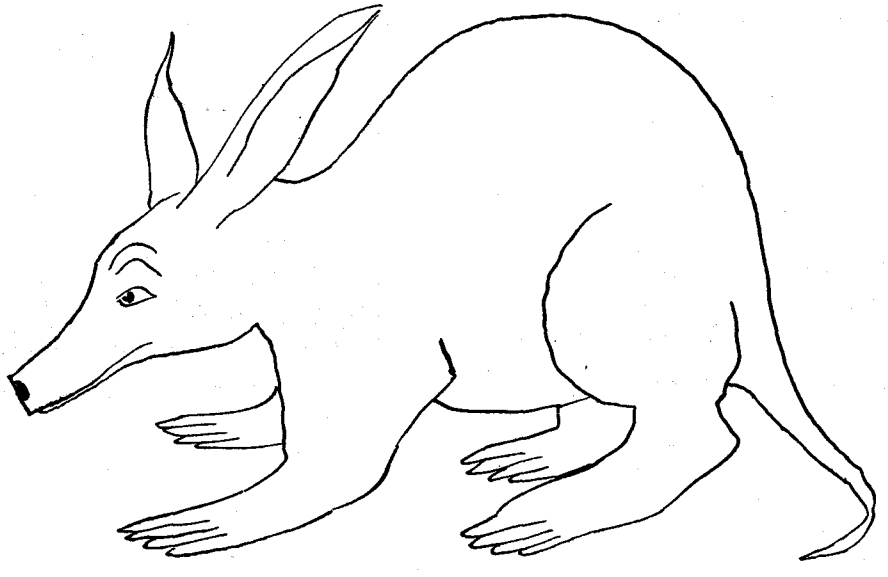
might have extended this observation to include the prophecy that one day the animals may begin, in their own way, to domesticate man, who, as Dr. Hooton said, is becoming ludicrous in body, ineffective in culture, and moronic in intelligence. In short, a set-up for animals, which are becoming less ludicrous, more cunning, and smarter every year.

Dr. Hooton also said that man is "not yet successful in his fight against micro-organisms, to any great extent." To which he might have added that, while man is peering into microscopes at micro-organisms, the steppe cat has slipped into Germany. It was not so long ago that the praying mantis came in a horde to look over New York City. You could find them reconnoitering high up on the Empire State Building. They peered into bedrooms and kitchens from window sills. They were all over the place. Then they quietly went away. The papers and the public treated it as a curious but unimportant phenomenon, that visit. I regard it as an extremely significant occurrence. Scouting planes in advance of the infantry, the tanks, and the bombers.



The Steppe Cat

Where Carthage once stood in her glory and pride there rises a cluster of modern villas, forming a suburb of the modern city of Tunis. Thus has the greatness of a sovereign power diminished. To what new kind of metropolis may Tunis someday become a suburb? Look through your field glasses at the nearest steppe land — look close to the ground. There — see that grayish-white blur, with the blackish transverse bands?



The Aardvark

James Thurber will continue this series of short articles in the June FORUM

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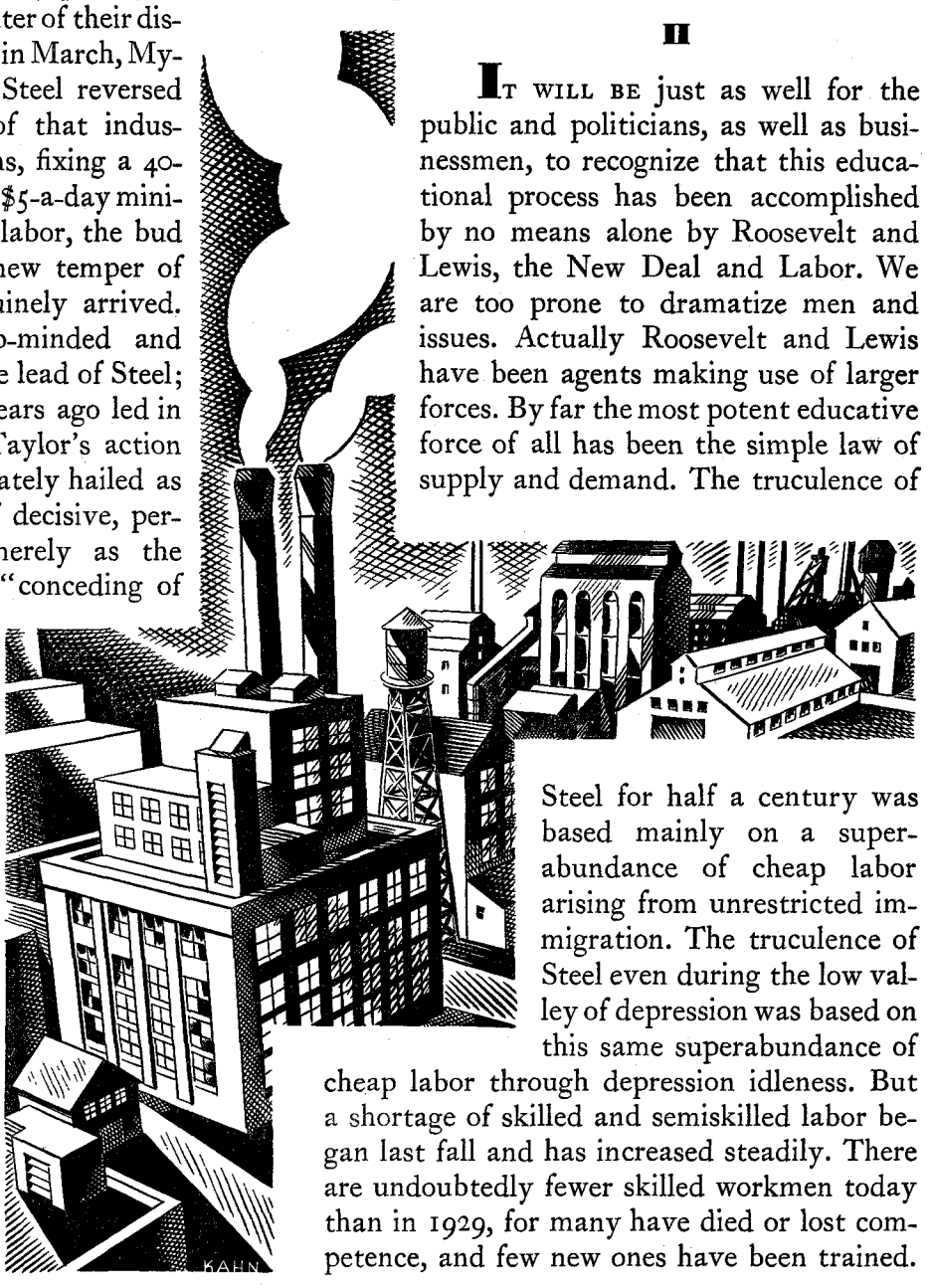
American Business: New Model

by **J. GEORGE FREDERICK**

BLOSSOMING this spring, the harbinger of definitely hopeful economic developments, is the new attitude of our leading businessmen. Even before the last election it was here and there to be found in bud by poking under the frost and snow of the winter of their discontent, but, when, early in March, Myron C. Taylor of U. S. Steel reversed the iron-bound policy of that industry by recognizing unions, fixing a 40-hour week, and setting a $5-a-day minimum for even common labor, the bud really opened, and the new temper of American business genuinely arrived. Businessmen are group-minded and have always followed the lead of Steel; it was Steel which 25 years ago led in corporation publicity. Taylor's action was instantly and accurately hailed as the burgeoning forth of decisive, permanent change, not merely as the sour, grudging, belated "conceding of Roosevelt's election," which a few cynics maintained.

It is a fact and not a hope that American business leaders are sufficiently re-educated in fundamental economics to admit the need of broad new policies. The long period of debate, bitterness, and strife is almost over, as far as basic principles are concerned. It will henceforth be unfashionable in business to take the truculent attitude toward labor, government, and the new standards of business economics. The new temper of business is a reality and needs only intelligent application to lay the foundation of a new period of American economic welfare.



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IT WILL BE just as well for the public and politicians, as well as businessmen, to recognize that this educational process has been accomplished by no means alone by Roosevelt and Lewis, the New Deal and Labor. We are too prone to dramatize men and issues. Actually Roosevelt and Lewis have been agents making use of larger forces. By far the most potent educative force of all has been the simple law of supply and demand. The truculence of Steel for half a century was based mainly on a superabundance of cheap labor arising from unrestricted immigration. The truculence of Steel even during the low valley of depression was based on this same superabundance of cheap labor through depression idleness. But a shortage of skilled and semiskilled labor began last fall and has increased steadily. There are undoubtedly fewer skilled workmen today than in 1929, for many have died or lost competence, and few new ones have been trained.

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Meanwhile Steel has been modernizing and mechanizing, each step calling for a smaller proportion of unskilled and a larger proportion of semiskilled and skilled labor. Thus for the first time in Steel's history its supply of cheap, docile labor was failing, for labor decided to stop being both cheap and docile at the precise moment when demand for steel was at a new peak. Furthermore the threats of purchase of foreign steel and of lower steel tariffs have been flung at the steel barons, so long snugly protected — making them feel the reality of the *world* law of supply and demand.

Business in general also has awakened to realization that one of the main reasons for the 1929 crash was a lack of *demand* for the type of goods, at the price, that it was making in such quantity. That demand, it now knows, will not rise until greater purchasing power enables it to do so.

Thus from both its logical parents — economic law and government — business has been chastised, penalized, and educated as never before during the past seven years. Admittedly it has liked the spanking no better than any adolescent ever did. It has winced at the application of the birch, hated the official hand that wielded the birch, and fundamentally denied the justice of birching, with all the vehement, wounded dignity it could rally.

The fact remains — and is admitted by the more responsible and thoughtful business leaders — that American business and finance genuinely needed, in their own interest, a birching in the legislative woodshed, as well as by the economic laws they flouted.

It does not really degrade American business to say that never before has it had a quite effective enough birching and that therefore it grew up to a spoiled adolescence. The Sherman antitrust law proved abortive, and Teddy Roosevelt's birching was not severe, despite his shouts about the Big Stick. America, on the whole, has always been surprisingly humble before business, even while business was making serious economic mistakes. Certainly American government has interfered far less in business than the government of any other large country. The new president of the American Banker's Association ruefully called this to the attention of the bankers last year. Europe, from which he had just returned, was a museum of the bleached bones of capitalism and aristocracy, which had not heeded the earlier warnings of their father, the people. The outraged European fathers had thereupon tied business hand and foot, re-establishing over all the ancient parental authority, the state.

III

THERE IS more truth than humor in this figure of speech. There was an appalling amount of business and financial bungling between 1916 and 1929. After the passing of the autocratic but high-principled Morgan hierarchy, the very complete liberty business enjoyed was under no responsible control, despite the fact that modern conditions were making us all increasingly economically interdependent. The bad boys of business were not kept in check by their fellows, and so the parents — politics and economic law — birched the entire family indiscriminately, the innocent with the guilty.

The youth of American business has been as stormy and willful as that of any son of a new-rich father without family traditions. The antics of many of the country's economic and financial notables for the past century or two certainly make embarrassing reading for any responsible person who would like to defend them. They first used the *miser* technique, then the *land-grabbing* technique, then the *promotion* technique, then the *sharp-practice* technique, then the *corporation-bludgeon* technique, then the *monopoly and political-corruption* technique, then the *consolidation and stock-speculation* technique, then the *holding-company* technique. In each of these they went to marked extremes. Meantime the general run of businessmen, honest and hard-working, stood by and watched and even covertly admired them for what they "got away with" and believed the New Era nonsense, invented by hired economists, that economic law was transcended by American business genius.

Thus they missed a great opportunity to separate the sheep from the goats; to halter the egotists; to repudiate the wayward and apply a fraternal discipline to them, in the realization that, if they did not, the whole crowd would have to bear the blame. The really astonishing thing is that anyone believed that the state and economic law would not eventually crack down on the offenders.

Many an indulgent father has acted toward

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a wayward son as Uncle Sam toward American industry, administering only gentle rebukes until his patience gave out but, finally, applying the rod and laying it on with plenty of what the boys call moxie. Naturally this painful process fills the air with noise. The injured one is so astonished, so purple with outraged pride and humiliation, so used to having his own way, that he may even strike back at Daddy and quite certainly will raise "fundamental" and "constitutional" questions as to Papa's right to supervise or punish at all.

It is at this point that the educational process takes place, for in the woodshed Willie stumbles on the undeniable fact of his organic relationship to his parents, and the harsh truth that he is not monarch of all he surveys. He finds that he is part of an unchangeable relationship, in which seniority and authority are with Daddy. Far from being able to boss him, he cannot even ignore him. And in some such tortuous manner as this came about the new temper in American business, the arrival of a more springlike climate in its relationship with government and labor.

IV

REALISM IS the keynote. The American businessman is nothing if not extravert in outlook, ready to adapt, willing to forget and start afresh. The Anglo-Saxon does not stew for decades in a mood or harbor grudges or bide his time for years for revenge. The American businessman indeed has too few long-term objectives. He prefers short-range aims. And this has decided advantages in an age of pragmatic, experimentalist philosophy. He does not chain himself hopelessly for half a century or more to specific preconceived outlooks, purposes, or ideals. He is not rigid, fixed, set. He has a natural affinity for the disinterested scientific temper and now he is more than ever turning in that direction, for his chastening has put a damper on that side of him once unfavorable to the growth of that attitude. The wayward brothers of business and finance were precisely those who flouted the scientific temper. They followed instead the all too human instincts of greed. They were emotionally and morally immature and they were uninterested in the goals of really able industry. They brought grave discredit on all competent business and finance, which have a splendid record, the result largely of the application of the scientific temper both to materials and to industrial and consumer relationships.

No other commercial nation has advanced industrial, commercial, consumer, and distribution research so far or provided labor and the consumer such excellent shares in prosperity. Many business and financial men have been puzzled and angered when, instead of receiving the praise they believed these accomplishments called for, they have been told it was utterly inadequate. Here is where some calm nonpartisan thinking is needed. The accomplishments of business are admirable, yes, but scientifically *out of proportion*. If you have a machine which can turn out 1,000 units per hour, why spend time praising it for turning out 100 an hour? If a doctor cures 29 out of 100 patients with a new serum, he won't let pride in his accomplishment prevent him from trying to perfect it and thereby do something for the other 71.

This is a realistic picture of American economics. Seventy-one per cent of American families did not, even in 1929, have $2,100 a year in income — an accepted "decent" standard of living. True, the American level of income is above that of all other countries, and American business had a goodly share in that achievement. *But if it had not been for the wayward brothers 51 per cent might by this time be enjoying that "decent" standard of living.* This is not seriously open to dispute. The offenders not only had none of the social vision and responsibility of really outstanding businessmen but, which is much more significant, *they did not even have real business ability*. It was not, we now see, that they were *not* superbusinessmen but that they *were* substandard businessmen. Theirs was not business genius but business backwardness, as we can easily see today if we contrast Insull with Ford, Kreuger with Johnson, Wiggin with Swope, Mitchell with Jesse Jones or Morganthau, Dumaine with Kendall, Du Pont with Taylor.

V

THE NEW TEMPER in business starts with certain definite acknowledgments:

First, it recognizes that, under modern closely interrelated economics in this huge, unified country, a greater measure of initiative, control, and regulation by the government is inevitable

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and advisable, not only to make democracy work better but also from a broad business point of view. Business itself benefits from these regulations and controls; indeed it needs them badly. The public, the consumer, the government — not the business community fortified by concentrated corporation power — must be regarded as the masters. Private property rights must be regarded as quasi-public.

Second, it recognizes (as England did twenty years ago) that unionization and collective bargaining, as means of clarifying the voice of labor and making its leadership responsible, are constructive steps forward, greatly reducing industrial waste and strife. Labor must no longer be bought as a commodity.

Third, it recognizes that business economics itself is now better understood in regard to the relation between mass production and mass purchasing power. More money in more purses, more time to use and enjoy goods, lower prices and lower distribution costs are seen to be not only good but *imperative* for sound prosperity. The skim-the-cream era is gone.

Fourth, it recognizes that special social steps are inevitable to aid the underprivileged, the unfortunate, the old, the inefficient, the unemployed. Our business civilization must either employ them or give them some aid and security. Being a very efficient machine civilization it cannot, today at least, employ them all. Therefore it must make some other humane provision through the more convenient instrumentality of government.

Fifth, it recognizes the justice and need of greatly sharpened fiduciary responsibility, so that more conscientiousness in handling other people's money may be developed; so that legalistic loopholes, loose corporation and stock techniques, security manipulations, nepotism, misleading statements, managerial monopoly, salary and bonus grabs, and other questionable practices will be curbed — and really *curbed*. It subscribes to a new and stricter code of business and corporation morals in these and other respects, lifting this code some notches higher toward fairness to all, including the stockholder, labor, and the public. These are merely old and well-known standards of good business, more firmly and horizontally imposed.

Sixth, it recognizes the obligation to deal more frankly with the public and the government, with more truthful sales representation; more informative labels; less bombastic, ambiguous claims; more careful adjustment to consumer needs; manufacturing for genuine use and service rather than for tricky sales and price psychology. This again is a well-known, first-class business principle, since the surest basis of business success is catering to real consumer need; consumer study first, manufacture second. Only heretofore it has usually been applied backward.

The new business temper may rightly be regarded as a milestone in the development of America, because it assumes a greater degree of economic statesmanship; of adult emotional outlook on the world of affairs and people. The Napoleon complex of business leaders of the past now seems naïve, a losing business policy. The new temper is more conservative. The brilliant coup; the "bigger and better" idea; the pep talk; the desk-thumping executive; the legend of the infallible "big shot"; the fever to make money by the engraved-certificate or stock-exchange route; the faith in pull and luck and being on the "inside"; the standard of what you can "get away with"; the view of the worker as a commodity to buy "at the market"; the notion of the business-owner class as a privileged aristocracy; the absolute trust in advertising to put almost anything "over"; the winking at half-truth and ambiguity; the trusting idea that there is no top to anything; the idolatry for anything that succeeds — these are now yesterday's old clothes for business, fit mostly for the junkman. They will not entirely disappear, but the important point is that they are now distinctly *out of fashion*. Morgan partners praising John L. Lewis and dealing amicably with him for collective bargaining — if this isn't a new fashion in business, then it isn't anything!

There are only two clouds on the horizon — the threat of sit-down strikes, which in my opinion will disappear as soon as the rank and file of businessmen (as in England) accept unionization and collective bargaining as inherently wise and sound, and, second, the threat of runaway prices, whose outcome again depends on industry's wisdom and restraint. The law of supply and demand is still implacable, swift, and sure. Raising wages five per cent and prices twelve per cent (as some have done) is only an invitation to another session in the woodshed.

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Art in the Planned State

by **CLIVE BELL**

THE FORUM *has projected a series of discussions, by well-known specialists, of what, in a planned state, would or should be the roles of science, philosophy, psychology, religion, education, and the arts.*

Anyone who follows the trend of world events is obliged to admit that we are witnessing in almost every country a movement toward a planned civilization or toward a civilization in which activities are organized to an extent that has not been known before. There does not, of course, exist such a thing as an absolutely unplanned civilization; in fact, an unplanned civilization is a contradiction in terms. Many activities which were once instinctive and unorganized have long since been carried into the organized stage. Churches, for example, are the social organization of the religious instinct; marriage and the family, the social organization of the sexual instinct; even the daily newspaper is the organization of the instinct for news gathering and gossiping. The world is in for more and more organization whether we like it or not. Some of the contemporary attempts at more completely planned civilizations in Europe are still in a crude stage and are taking forms that seem to many of us to be dangerous. However, we must acknowledge that even the crudest of the planned societies are trying to make themselves responsible for the physical well-being and social security of their citizens.

Given the apparent inevitability of a planned civilization, THE FORUM *editors have considered that it would be of importance to discuss, from time to time, how the planning might affect spiritual and intellectual activities which in the past developed more or less spontaneously, according to the inclinations and abilities of individuals. The first of these discussions, "Art in the Planned State," is by the distinguished art critic, Clive Bell, who discusses not the position of art but the position, as he conceives it, of the artist in a planned society.*

IT WAS SOME 25 years ago, I regret to say, that I wrote:

> Let the artist be a beggar living on public charity; let him have just enough to eat and the tools of his trade: ask nothing of him. Materially make the life of the artist sufficiently miserable to be unattractive, so that no one will take to art save those in whom the dæmon is absolute. . . . Art and Religion are not professions; they are not occupations for which men can be paid. The artist and the saint do what they have to do, not to make a living, but in obedience to some mysterious necessity. They do not produce to live — they live to produce. There is no place for them in a social system based on the theory that what men desire is prolonged and pleasant existence. You cannot fit them into the machine, you must make them extraneous to it. You must make pariahs of them, since they are not a part of society but the salt of the earth.

As my opinion has not changed, the Editor of THE FORUM has put me in a fix by bidding me write on the position of art in a planned

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society. Planned art, in my opinion, is a contradiction in terms. Art is made by artists and not by soviets or government departments. Wherefore, the question to be discussed is, I think, not the position of art in a planned society but the position of the artist.

For the purpose of discussion may I divide artists into two classes? I am not suggesting that this is the only division: probably it is one of a hundred; all I claim is that it is real. There are artists whose sole aim is to express themselves — serious musicians, writers of lyrics, painters of landscape and still life. These I propose to call pure artists. There are others whose object is twofold, to express themselves in doing something else — making a teapot or persuading the world that the earth is flat. These I call applied artists. Of course, the same person may paint still lifes and design posters for pills, write lyrics and prospectuses too. All I insist is that these are two distinct occupations and that in a planned society — or rather in my planned society — a man would have to make up his mind whether he was a pure artist who dabbled in applied art or an applied artist with pretensions.

Bathtubs vs. Art

We are told by economists whom we dare not contradict that one of the many advantages of a well-planned state will be an accretion of wealth. With a few weekly hours of unexacting labor the worker of the future is to buy all those luxuries dear to the heart of workers. He will eat table d'hôte meals in marble halls, as he does already; he will spend long, enchanting evenings in plush-seated picture palaces, as he can even now for a small sum; his lavatory appointments and television sets will be chromium-plated; silver will be of no account in his house; dance music he shall have wherever he goes; baseball and football matches for him will be continuous (and I presume the government will supply counters with which to bet on them); he will wear fur that smells like astrakhan and smoke cigars which look as though they came from Cuba. All this for a few hours' work a week.

Is it conceivable that out of his superfluity he will support a few vagabonds, the people who consider themselves pure artists, supplying them with enough food to keep body and soul together, shelter, and the materials of their mystery? I hardly know. But it is to be observed that by comparison with the rich life of a civil dustman the life of a free artist will not be of a kind to attract many who lack vocation. Anyhow, unless the planned citizen is willing to commit this act of generosity, the position of art in the planned state is a question that hardly arises. There will be none, probably.

On the other hand, given the existence of a few free vagabonds, creating and criticizing in perfect freedom, the existence of a number of applied artists, who, though they will be working citizens of the planned state, will not be mere mechanics, becomes possible. For they will have standards, and by standards may be saved. One of the most important though least conscious functions of pure artists is and ever has been to set standards. The prestige of pure art rises in the end above the rot of prompt and popular success and spreads outward. Already in the windows of the great emporia you can discern the influence of Matisse and Picasso. But without standards — and the existence of standards supposes criticism — art sinks to the level of a commercial product. It is good enough if it gives satisfaction. In a well-planned state, from which competition and price cutting had been eliminated, applied art might regain that quality which in Europe it possessed before the industrial revolution and the thorough commercialization of the crafts. But it will not regain quality without standards; and standards you cannot maintain without free artists, free criticism, and a liberally educated public.

The planned state of the future will, I presume, be the only patron. The fate, therefore, of all save the commercially unproductive and unpaid vagabonds, the fate of the architects and monumental sculptors, of the potters, the furniture makers, and the decorators, will be in its hands. Is there reason to hope that in future the state will be a better patron than it is today? It is argued that in the past the state has been a good patron, and I am not much impressed by the argument. Athens is invariably cited; but frankly we know too little about the relation of Phidias to Pericles or about the selection committee at the Dionysia to draw helpful inferences.

The example of the medieval church, a state within the states of Europe, is more interesting. Certainly the church employed a number of

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first-rate artists; but it is significant that whenever bad artists abounded the church has employed them readily enough. Only in ages when bad artists have found difficulty in making a showing has the church failed to discover and employ them. Why, in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, it was difficult for bad artists to come to the front is another question and an important one. I believe it was because the public possessed an educated taste in visual art. People who have no newspapers and few books live by their eyes. They look at things. What percentage, I wonder, of the present population of Florence has ever tried to decipher the iconography of the reliefs on Giotto's tower? In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these carvings were a general topic of conversation. Over the question of the Baptistry doors the Florentine public took sides violently: it may be noted that the municipal council gave the job to Ghiberti and not to Donatello. Nevertheless, public taste in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance undoubtedly made for the employment of good visual artists. But its taste in literature was uneducated, nevertheless. It could not read. But it could look. Since it is unlikely that the denizens of any brave new world will enjoy the advantages of illiteracy, I suggest that one of the first duties of a planning government — always supposing that good visual art is among the things it wants — will be to educate the people in the difficult art of seeing.

The Political Angle

The modern state is a bad patron generally for one of three reasons: it is propagandist or it expects artists to satisfy a vulgar and stupid majority or it compromises. I have seen a certain amount of the propaganda produced lately in Russia and I have seen a number of pictures painted by Russian artists in their leisure, when they were not working for the state. These were feeble enough; but sometimes they were taking and always vastly superior to the state-inspired stuff. As Russians have never shown any extraordinary talent for the visual arts, it would be wrong to attach great importance to instances drawn from Russia; but I cannot help thinking that these agreeable half-timers, were they whole-time vagabonds, would be more serious. I think they would dig deeper into experience and set themselves more exacting problems. The fault of their private and personal work is that of their public and state-directed; it is the fault of all propaganda. It is posterlike. The aim has been to get a quick and obvious effect, which is, I suppose, the aim of all advertisement.

You may say that the religious art of the Middle Ages was propaganda too: *ad maiorem dei gloriam*. The artist was given his theme; and why should Stalin signing a margarine decree be a worse subject than the miracle of the loaves and fishes? Certainly, if a modern painter were allowed to treat the subject with the freedom of the *quattrocentisti* there could be no objection. But he is not. He has to treat it in such a way that it will be understood without effort and liked immediately by the modern man in the street. He must make a poster of it.

Where politicians are the only patrons, it is probable that the only art tolerated will be genuinely popular art. They will give the people what they like, and we all know what that is. In the early days of the Russian revolution people smattering a little contemporary culture obtained a measure of influence. They admired the best contemporary painting, and for a few paradoxical years pictures by Cézanne and Renoir, Matisse and Picasso were presented to the people as authentic examples of proletarian art. The imposture did not last, and the imposters are by this time liquidated, no doubt. What passes nowadays for art, state art, in Russia is genuinely popular and is not art at all. For the people — the people of 1937 — do not like art of any sort; what they like and like to call art is the fulfillment of their dreams of lust and power and opulence, with flattering references to their own righteousness and superiority or the iniquity of their discomfited enemies.

Of the politic and popular attitude to art André Gide, staunch communist lately returned from Russia, gives a disquieting account. Chestakovitch, by expert consent the most remarkable of the younger Russian composers, is in disgrace with the authorities. In fact, he is no longer given a hearing. Gide required an explanation of a highly placed acquaintance. "What we want today," he was told, "are things that everyone can understand and understand at once. What do you expect the people to make of an opera of which, on leaving the theater, they cannot hum a single phrase?"

What is more, the planned state has no

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notion of allowing the stuff that the people like and the government recommends to be adversely criticized, even in conversation. Young Russians are ordered to admire this and despise that, so that not only has free criticism been made an offense but soon the very habit of thinking and feeling for oneself will have disappeared. That is the end of art. And how is it to be avoided in a planned state, unless the politicians can learn to tolerate criticism and are prepared even to make way sometimes for an alternative, "deplanning" government?

The best, it seems, that can be hoped of governments is what we still get, to some extent, in unplanned France and England — I speak only of countries that I know. It is compromise. For in France and England there still exists a small cultivated class, timid and untrustworthy in its judgments, to be sure, but well aware that what the people love is not art. And this minority is important. So committees of taste are formed, composed of a few politicians determined to give the public what it likes, a few people who understand art and care for it, and between them a cushion of more or less educated and entirely harassed officials anxious to prevent anything being done that will too violently displease anybody.

The result, as you might suppose, is compromise. The few who care and understand object so vigorously to the popular trash that the politicians, who are all in favor of it, cannot get their way; on the other hand, these are quite strong enough to prevent a commission being given to some original and disconcerting young person whom the art lovers fancy. So finally it is agreed to employ an established and not too personal practitioner who has the air of being an artist; and it is left to the officials to explain away whatever seems too personal, too decorative, or too artistic in the finished article.

That is what happens in England, and in France it is much the same. When, at the turn of the century, the liberal French governments and the municipal council of Paris were persuaded to throw off the tyranny of the École des Beaux-Arts, instead of boldly employing Cézanne, Renoir and Degas, they contented themselves and their supporters with sham artists such as Besnard and Laurens. I doubt whether any modern state, planned or otherwise, is likely to do better.

Too Much to Hope For

The prospect of art in the planned state appears to me poor. Of course, if the population will be so magnanimous as to allow anyone who thinks he has anything to say to live like a beggar and say it, if, without attempting to choose, it will accord the right to produce and criticize in perfect freedom, the problem is solved. But, though generosity is a virtue which has existed under all governments, genuine respect for art is unlikely to be common under any.

Dismissing as visionary the notion of self-appointed, materially unproductive artists, I still believe that something might be hoped of a population which preferred vast leisure to a plethora of luxuries. But leisure is the least prized of blessings; and where is the normal man who does not prefer grander picture palaces, more commodious omnibuses, a longer cigar, and an additional tap in the bathroom to hours of idleness or a whole row of masterpieces? So, to toy once more with the fantastic vision, let me point out that in my planned state the applied artists, albeit mismanaged by the government, might be expected to hold their ground: indeed, there is some reason to hope that they would recover the standards lost at the time of the industrial revolution. For the example, the prestige, and the criticism of the pure vagabonds would certainly influence them for good, while the fact that they were not producing for a competitive market ought to prove favorable. They should consider themselves, and should be considered, artisans, as they did and were up to the end of the eighteenth century. They should be ordinary members of a trade union or guild, learning their craft by apprenticeship and discovering art through contact with the outlaws.

As for the rulers, it seems to me they can do four things and four only, in the interest of art. To anyone who believes that he is a pure artist they can give leisure, freedom, and a bare subsistence dole. They can refrain from attempting to select pure artists. They can refrain from establishing art departments. An art department means bureaucratic art, and bureaucratic art means death. Finally, to the artist's public — to everybody, that is — they can give an education in seeing. I cannot say I think it likely they will do any of these things.

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Brains in Government

Commissions to Find the Facts

by **A. MERVYN DAVIES**

THAT THE AMERICAN governmental machine needs amendment to meet the demands imposed on it by the New Deal is a fact that requires little demonstration. The constantly growing importance of government in the national life of the country, as in all modern states, is forcing on us new problems and making new demands on our thinking and acting. Methods of action and modes of thought sufficient for our needs 50 years ago or even less are so no longer. On every hand we see government control being stretched over a wider field of social, industrial, and economic welfare. The New Deal has greatly accentuated that tendency, but it did not initiate it, and there is no reason to believe that it is going to be reversed in the years to come.

The problems that now confront our legislators, the spheres of life and activity that governmental action intimately affects, with all their ramifications, are so vast and complex that, unless the machinery of government itself is kept up to date to meet the new demands on it, the result is bound to be detrimental to the national interests, possibly even disastrous. Democracy cannot afford to overlook means for increased efficiency — especially today when it is under challenge. Actually democracy in the long run is more efficient than dictatorship; it makes fewer really important blunders and it can more easily and readily correct its mistakes. But no short or superficial view shows it in that light. Rather the advantage seems invariably to lie with dictatorship, if it is a matter of getting things done quickly after it is determined what is to be done.

A democracy's machinery is cumbersome — full of checks and balances and divided powers — slow-moving, uncertain in its operation, and subject to sudden interruption. Yet it has an adaptive capacity to new needs, and that capacity is its salvation today. Let anyone who doesn't realize what far-reaching changes can take place in constitutional practice without the necessity of an amendment to the Constitution reread parts of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, particularly his description of congressional legislation, and compare it with what we know to be the practice today. Bryce was writing of the "horse and buggy" days when the chief purpose of government was the *avoidance* of government and the chief object of Congress to keep a watch on the administration, not to legislate for the needs of the country — which did not at that time consider that it needed legislating for. And Bryce said, in so many but much politer words, that members of Congress knew no more about how to legislate than ordinary workmen on the job knew about the designing of buildings. (He described them as "architects without science.")

The gradual but hesitant adoption of the device of commissions of inquiry during the past half-century has changed the picture very considerably. And, if some way can now be found for perfecting that device, one of the biggest steps forward will have been taken toward making the machinery of government equal to the immense new responsibilities it is assuming. For is not knowledge the first requisite for wisdom, in individual or government?

A closer examination therefore, of the way the device has worked, both here and in Great Britain, where it is constantly and successfully employed, should be instructive in indicating means to that end.

II

SIX YEARS ago there was such a plethora of fact-finding commissions in this country

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that an article was published in *Scribner's* entitled "Mr. Hoover's Sins of Commissions." In it Mr. Silas Bent wrote:

> If the President were to propose such another "fact-finding" bureau [as the Wickersham Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement] there would resound to the high heavens a nation wide guffaw, not unmingled with wailing and gnashing of teeth.

And he naturally asked why this should be so, for —

> surely this nation needs nothing more acutely than accurate and disinterested fact finding about the complicated issues which confront the electorate.

If that was true in 1931, how much more true it is today! "Yet," said Mr. Bent, "the device seems to be discredited." It was so discredited, in fact, that Mr. Roosevelt largely discarded it, resorting instead to another kind of device, the so-called brain trust. And who can say that this has proved more satisfactory?

Americans are an impatient people, sometimes, in matters of government. Their intense conservatism makes them impatient of innovations that do not function perfectly on first trial. They are apt to see the defects of those innovations more readily than the merits and in their annoyance sweep them away as proven failures. This seems to be true of the New Deal experiment of the NRA. It seems also to be somewhat true of commissions.

But the commission, unlike the NRA, already has a long and honorable record, not to be forgotten because of the failure of one administration to make proper use of it. It made its debut in the United States with the creation of the Civil Service Commission in 1883. Theodore Roosevelt made conspicuous use of the device in dealing with coal, conservation, industrial relations, and other problems. Congress, too, has seen its value and increasingly utilized it to investigate and report concerning specific problems. Outstanding examples of such temporary fact-finding commissions have been the Panama Canal Commission, which gave an exhaustive report to Congress in 1901 on all phases of the proposed undertaking, the Commission on Industrial Relations, which turned in an eleven-volume report in 1916, and the Muscle Shoals Commission, which reported on its findings in 1925.

Then came Mr. Hoover. And the stream grew to a mighty flood. In his first two years President Hoover appointed 29 *ad hoc* commissions, either on his own initiative or by authorization of Congress. They dealt with such matters as ocean-mail contracts, law enforcement, agricultural marketing, child health, conservation of the public domain, wages and building construction, social trends, policies in Haiti, home building and ownership, employment, drought, timber conservation, and illiteracy.

The list is impressive, the desire to approach problems of government scientifically is apparent. What, then, went wrong? Why was the Hoover record condemned? Mr. Bent's findings in 1931 are worth quoting because they help us to get to the root of the matter. He came to the conclusion that the Hoover commissions

> were managed in part by "experts" who did not deserve that description, in part by members who served merely as "window dressing"; that they were secretive about the sources of their revenue and the methods of their expenditure; that they were suspected of over-riding legal provisions; that pressure was brought to bear on them for selfish purposes; that vainglorious publicity was over-rated in importance; that members were sometimes chosen from the very interests which inquiries might embarrass; that their findings were not worth what they cost the tax payer.

But in Mr. Bent's opinion the need that called these commissions into being remained as urgent as ever:

> If we are to relate our social and economic life to some system expertly planned and adroitly administered, we must have the fact-finding commission to do it in full flower. We cannot make progress with such commissions if they are withered or blighted by selfish or political considerations.

In other words, the device itself is all right — what is defective is the way it has been used. If those defects can be corrected, then should not the device become a permanent part of the American system of government?

All authorities agree that commissions of inquiry have proved of immense value to the British. They have used them extensively for 100 years, and nearly every important measure of reform put through Parliament has been preceded by such an inquiry. It will be valuable, therefore, for our purpose, to see what are the chief features of the British system and the factors responsible for its success. We can then consider their suitability for our American purposes and to what extent they can be grafted into our system. It is possible that in

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this way we can find out how to eradicate the aforesaid defects.

III

THERE ARE eight features of the British system that may be held essential to its successful working.

The first is prestige. This is largely the result of all the others. But the method of calling a commission into existence by royal warrant and investing it with the symbols of the monarchy is a valuable aid. It rivets public attention on it from the outset and makes it easier for the commission to secure the co-operation from both those who are needed to serve on it and those who are needed to furnish it with information.

The second is a sense of public duty. Unless well-qualified men are prepared to give their time and best efforts to the purposes of a commission, then the method is bound to fail, as the findings of inferior persons will not be received with the necessary respect and attention and the object of the inquiry will consequently be defeated. In England such persons are always eager to proffer their services. Royal commissions, we are told, are important because the men appointed to them take them seriously. Furthermore, they are unpaid.

The third is the existence of a public demand or clear public need. Royal commissions are frequently the result of public agitation — some scandal for instance, that has been played up in the press — or they are appointed following a prolonged discussion of the subject in Parliament, in the press, on the radio, in government offices.

The fourth is the representative character of their composition. This varies according to the need. In some cases a body composed wholly of supposedly impartial persons — like a jury in a court of law — may be chosen, in others a body of experts; but in most cases a commission is representative of all the main interests concerned. The Commission on Liquor Licensing is a good illustration. Its 21 members included four persons connected with the trade-union movement, three associated with temperance societies, three representatives of the liquor trade, two prominent businessmen, two directors of co-operative societies, two social workers, two government experts in licensing administration, a secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, a woman prominent in local government affairs, and the chairman. The three political parties were represented, also different geographical sections of the country, and there were three women. In other words, that commission represented, as nearly as possible, a complete cross section of British opinion and interest bearing on the subject. The important point to note is that the constitution of each royal commission is carefully planned to best meet its specific purpose. If the subject is sewage disposal, obviously it is a case for experts. If it is unemployment and relief, the task of discovering the facts and indicating the lines that legislation should follow must be placed in more representative hands. Expert opinion, in that instance, would not suffice, as the public interests at stake are too vast and complex.

The fifth feature is the proper constitution of the commission, with its terms of reference carefully stated. The commissioners are given definite instructions from the government and cannot exceed them. This checks any tendency toward irrelevancy and lessens the chance of ax grinding at the same time that it helps save the public's money and the freely given time of the commissioners.

The sixth feature is the grant of wide powers. These powers do not ordinarily — but in special case they might — extend to compelling the attendance of witnesses or to giving oaths or to demanding the production of documents, but for the rest each commission determines for itself its own procedure: whether to hold its meetings in public, what witnesses to call, and the method to pursue in examining them. Here again, as in the matter of composition, no hard and fast rule is followed. The *purpose* of the commission is always the determining factor.

The seventh feature is the selection of a good chairman and secretary. And this is as important as any. The strength of a commission, as of any committee, is apt to depend on these two men. For chairman the aim is always to obtain someone whose name will carry weight with the general public — generally either a high-court judge or a man with a distinguished record in public affairs. The secretary is always chosen from the higher ranks of the civil service and usually from the

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particular government department in whose province the matter of investigation comes. He has to account to the Treasury for all expenditures. Being highly trained in administration, he is largely responsible for the efficiency with which the commission does its work.

The eighth and last feature is the consequence of all the others, namely, the ability of each commission, in most instances, to crown its work by seeing its recommendations either translated into actual legislation or, as the case may be, made effective by government through administrative orders and regulations. If a commission has done its work well and its findings meet the approval of informed opinion both inside and outside Parliament, concrete results usually follow, though not always immediately. Very seldom do the individuals who have served on a commission feel that they have made useless sacrifices of their time.

IV

THE VALUE of commissions of inquiry may now be seen more clearly. They are in truth immensely important agencies for popular government, forums at which people of all classes, interests, and shades of opinion can air their views and complaints and assist in the framing of measures that will reflect them, actual auxiliaries to the constituted branches of government. They afford a common meeting ground for the best brains in politics, in the civil service, and in the public at large and they need for their full success the co-operation of all three. Sometimes they act as a safety valve to set the public mind at rest on some matter that has been agitating it. A royal commission will get to the bottom of things and prove or disprove the grounds for alarm. In other words, they are vital aids to the proper functioning of democratic government.

How can such a device be assimilated into the American form of government? There are obvious difficulties. There are the size and complexity of the country and the diversity of its interests. But these particular difficulties are diminishing as the sense of national unity and common interest grows and sectionalism decreases. (The last election shows the strength of this trend.) A more vital difficulty is the separation of powers and functions in the American system of government. The essential unity of parliamentary government makes it much easier both to constitute a commission and to give effect to its findings. Either the president or Congress may appoint the American equivalent of a royal commission, but neither has the power to compel the other to honor its appointment — the power, that is, to secure its equal co-operation for the purposes of the inquiry or for subsequent action. And the kind of individual needed to serve on a commission cannot be expected to serve if he does not feel a reasonable hope of seeing a tangible fruit obtaining from all his arduous labors. He must be given the feeling that he is performing the most important and responsible duty.

Co-operation between president and Congress then is essential. But this has frequently been secured, at least in part, in the past, by having the commissions appointed by the executive but authorized and financed by Congress. If the two bodies are in conflict, little good can follow from the setting up of a commission by either body, except in so far as the report of a commission can influence public opinion. Whether that co-operation can be brought about in greater measure than in the past or how it might be brought about cannot be discussed here. The emphatic way in which the electorate seems to have endorsed the policies of its present chief executive appears to indicate a present trend in the direction of greater co-operation.

There is another important factor that is at present largely lacking in this country — namely, the existence of a civil service trained, organized, and manned as efficiently as in Great Britain. The success of British royal commissions is, as we have seen, in large measure due to the skilled assistance of the experts in the civil service. That measure of reform is long overdue here, and when it comes it will bring the full flowering of the commission so much nearer.

Can the right kind of man be found to serve? It has long been a truism that men of high intellectual attainment and personal integrity and ability will not go into public work in the United States, and by public work is usually meant politics. Whether that reproach still holds true or not, service on a commission is not political in that sense — anything but. For that reason it would seem to afford one sure way in which to attract men of this stamp

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into the service of their country. So far as it is at present lacking, a tradition for such a service would need to be built up, but who shall still say that, given the necessary lead by the President, there are not sufficient patriotic citizens today who would gladly follow that lead and give their services freely to this most important, dignified, and in every way worthwhile part of national government?

V

THE MAIN criticisms made against the American commissions in the past have been their costliness — the Wickersham Commission cost $500,000; the way in which they have too often been used to dodge issues and waste time; the failure of administrations — and Congress — to use their findings; and their vulnerability to political pressure. But these defects are not inherent. They can be either wholly or in part eradicated by proper precautions, by right usage of the device on the part of the President and Congress, and by an aroused and informed public opinion demanding that proper use. No institution of government can be better than the human elements of which it is composed and the human forces that influence it, but a strong lead coming from the President to whom the nation, especially today, looks for leadership of this kind, backed by public opinion, can change, as we have already seen it do, the whole spirit of government and the manner in which it performs its functions.

The result of the last election in particular makes the need for commissions greater than ever, at the same time that it facilitates their complete and perfected use. The lack of an effective opposition in Congress will lay on the Administration leaders an added responsibility for the legislation they sponsor. Its soundness should not be left to a largely one-party legislature to determine. It should be determined in advance — by a commission. Given a commission truly representative of the best brains in the country and of Republican sentiment as well as Democratic, then any legislation resulting from its recommendations will be received with vastly more confidence by the country at large than it would if it were known that no one outside Administration circles had had a hand in its framing.

But the enormous prestige that Mr. Roosevelt has won for himself, both in Congress and in the country at large, makes it just that much easier for him to bring the commission system into "full flower." In the first place, some of the prestige of the President will be transferred to a commission appointed by him and vested with his confidence and authority — and, as we have seen, prestige is an essential feature of the British system. In the second place, the co-operation of Congress, in appointing, financing, and giving actual effect to the work of a comission, is more nearly assured. And, in the third place, men of the kind needed for this service may be expected to respond to the President's invitation.

His huge majority has laid a terrifying burden of responsibility upon the President. On his decisions so much will now depend — more in fact, than should in a democracy depend on the decisions of one man — that any steps he can take to relieve himself, safely and prudently, of part of that responsibility should be doubly welcomed by him and by the country at large. And one such step is to relieve himself and his administration of the *sole* responsibility for new and far-reaching measures of social and economic control. One could go so far as to assert that it would be a sound rule for the President to follow never to initiate a piece of legislation of this order without first buttressing it — and also himself — against attack and failure with the report of a fact-finding commission.

How very wise such a precaution is has been demonstrated in the case of the social-security act, which was a bipartisan measure resulting from the recommendations of a non-partisan council — a commission in all but name. It was those two facts that frustrated the last-minute attempt of Mr. Roosevelt's opponents in the election to use that act as a powerful weapon against him.

It follows that proper employment of the commission device would strengthen the President's hand enormously. It would help him to remove a large part of his New Deal program from the arena of party warfare — where it conspicuously does *not* belong — at the same time that it would ensure that each part of the program had been well thought out by independent minds before it was presented to Congress for enactment and to the country for passive, if not active and willing, acceptance.

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It is not going too far to say that the New Deal depends entirely for its success on, first, the soundness of its manufacture and, second, the salesmanship employed in presenting it to the public. The commission device can, in skillful hands, contribute greatly to both ends.

In conclusion, let me give a concrete example of one matter calling for the appointment of a presidential commission at the moment. For a year or two past attention has been drawn in the press and by commentators over the air to the need for a complete overhauling of the steamboat-inspection service of the Department of Commerce. There have been grave charges made against the Department. Such a condition in England would call for the appointment of a royal commission to investigate the facts. Why not here? Mr. Roosevelt has nothing to lose and much to gain by appointing such a commission — not only in this instance but in every similar instance where there is a public demand for it. Such a commission would, on the British model, include representatives of shipping companies, port authorities, marine-insurance companies, and the Seaman's Union; it would also include a ship's captain or two, government experts, marine engineers, and a sprinkling of laymen. On the nature of its report would depend whether there was need for fresh legislation.

It has often been remarked that the United States can find no useful employment for her ex-presidents; but could not Mr. Roosevelt with propriety invite Mr. Hoover, a former Secretary of Commerce, to be chairman of such a commission? That again would be fully in accordance with British usage and would point the way to the much-to-be-desired full flowering of the commission system in this country.

Planetarium

I saw a miracle to-day,
A man-made sky, a moon, a sun,
I saw the daylight softly fade
Into the shades of deepest night.
I saw the stars leap into sight
Across the blue black midnight skies.
I saw the planets, Jupiter, and Mars,
And Saturn with his rings,
I saw the constellations, Bear and Lion, Swan and Scorpion,
And I saw a man-made dawn,
Saw the faint rays of the sun
Touch softly and make azure blue the blue-
Black of those midnight skies.
I saw a rosy glow of dawn creep slowly through those azure skies,
And it was morning!
I saw a miracle to-day.

Anne Butler

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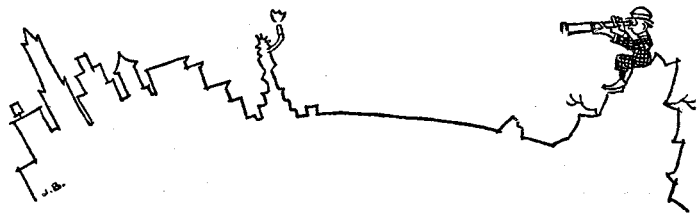
A Chinese Sees America



by **LIN YUTANG**

ONE MIGHT just as well put it down on paper, once for all. That will at least provide a ready answer for every question that might be asked of a foreign writer.

Perhaps these likes and dislikes may be all wrong. Perhaps after a longer stay, one will revise one's opinions or even begin to like what one disliked and dislike what one used to like. Of so much less value will those maturer judgments be, to my way of thinking. It will be impossible, after a year's stay, to recapture those first thrills of new impacts, those first impressions, sensations, bewilderments, and novel surprises. I do not need psychologists to tell me about the law of habit — that the human mind is apt to disregard the discordant, once it has become familiar, and eventually regard everything as reasonable because it is customary.

Also, I do not justify my likes and dislikes. Personal likes and dislikes are things that you do not have to give reasons for. They are just personal likes and dislikes. I like certain things because I like them. To every question about the reason for my preferences, the answer is, "Just because."

Well, then, what do I like about America and what do I dislike? (I am merely trying to put into practice the American principle of free speech.)

I like best of all, in New York, the granite rocks in Central Park, as beautiful in their rugged rhythm as any to be found on high mountaintops; next the squirrels with such beautiful clean fur; and thirdly the men and women who are able to share with me the delight in those little squirrels. None there are, I suspect, who share with me the delight in the rocks — those silent, immutable rocks.

I like hot dogs but do not like the company I generally find myself in when eating them. I like best of all a glass of tomato juice but hate to drink tomato juice surrounded by bottles of Bromo-Seltzer, packages of Ex-Lax, boxes of aspirin, and a mountain of bath salts, sponges, Schick Injectors, electric toasters, toothbrushes, dental creams, kissproof lipsticks, and shaving brushes.

I like to eat raw celery and honeydew melon in the paneled cellar of Louis and Armand or have a bite before the open stands of Nedick's. Either the one or the other, but no soda lunches, if I can help it. There, perched on those rotating disks, I am neither a sophisticated gourmet attending to his food with a religious fervor nor a glorious, carefree tramp but just a New York hustler, with not enough elbow room in God's universe to pull out a handkerchief comfortably. And if I yawn and stretch, as every gentleman should after a good meal, I should fall overboard.

I like everything about the radio except its programs. I marvel at the unprecedented

opportunity for bringing good music and artistic enjoyment to the home and equally at the proportionately unprecedented absence of good music and artistic enjoyment.

I bow in profound admiration before the mysterious wires, coils, switches, and vacuum tubes and the mechanic with wires, coils, and sundry apparatus to catch music from the air; but I tower with supreme contempt over the music finally caught by the mysterious coils, wires, and vacuum tubes. Americans have bad music but good music catchers.

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I marvel exceedingly at the complete success with which the rich store of European music is held in abeyance and hidden in shame. Equally do I delight in the announcements of sales, which are the best parts of the programs, because they are the only parts that are sincere.

I love the luscious Burbank pears and fragrant American apples and the rich, resonant voices of Americans and all that is vital and rich and whole. And I hate diluted clam broth and effeminate melodies and robust American college boys crooning pseudosentiments in pseudosoft voices, inevitably rhyming *you* with *blue*, and all that is affected, patterned, manufactured, and made to order.

II

I LOVE the gorgeous American chrysanthemums, as admiration-compelling as any in China, and the unbelievable varieties of orchids in Fifth Avenue flower shops but I detest the way most of the bouquets are arranged, without any rhythmic vitality or subtle contrast.

I love the ringing laughter of children playing in the park, unafraid of dirt, and the sweet piping of young ladies calling to squirrels. I like seeing pure-faced young mothers with their perambulators and single ladies sprawling on the ground taking naps, their faces barely covered by newspapers, and all that speaks of the joy of life. But I hate to see men and women lying on the ground and kissing in public.

I love the negro porters, messengers, and elevator boys, sporting wherever they are, with their sharp winks and sly smiles, but I profoundly commiserate with the serious-looking negroes going about with their gloves, spats and their civilization.

I like the smile of sweet New England ladies, speaking in heavenly accents, and detest the sights of girls in subways constantly moving their jaws up and down, without any smoke ever coming out.

I like subways, carrying me so fast, provided they carry me to my destination. But I feel humiliated to see blonde girls in high-heeled shoes overtaking me at my fastest pace. Holy Moses! Where is she going?

I love the sight of morning rides in subways, when the lines around men's and women's eyes have been gently smoothed out by sweet slumber and there is a twinkle in their looks. But I always feel highly uncomfortable during the afternoon rides, when the facial lines are so sharp, the eyes so harsh, and the faces so taut-drawn.

Sometimes I catch glimpses of sweet, calm faces, dignified faces and soulful faces, and then a discordant note comes, and they pass by. And I am left in the midst of eyes staring with a glint glare and chins sticking out, speaking of a desperate ambition to achieve, and voices without soft modulation.

And I see middle-aged housewives returning with packages from Macy's or Wanamaker's, chatting, chatting, chatting about the awful realities of life with an awful awareness, and they do my heart good, because they remind me of China. And I see once in a while a sweet, pensive, lonely girl talking to no one and wish I could penetrate into her soul's yearnings.

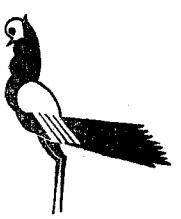
I see white-haired and ruddy-faced old men, who survey this tide of humanity, I suspect, very much as I do. Then I see with a shock other old men, apologetic for their being old and continually protesting by their manner that they are still young in spirit.

I always feel tremendously amused that, even in America, men do not always rise to give a lady a seat. But I feel enraged when an old man is left standing.

III

I AM INTERESTED in the quintuplets as a curiosity, but am stunned at the way they have been turned to commercial purpose. I admire the Lindberghs and feel sorry for them that the cameramen have persecuted them out of the country.

I am a disciple of American democracy and enthusiastic about the civil rights and liberties But I am amazed that there isn't an amendment to the American Constitution, protecting every American citizen from facing cameramen and reporters against his will and guaranteeing him the right of privacy, the only right that makes life worth living.



I admire the gentleman in America and feel sorry for him that he has to be ashamed of his culture and his better opinions — feel

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sorry that he has been cudgeled into conformity, caged in silence, and haunted by the fear of being different from the common man. I understand but nevertheless wonder at the fairly complete absence of gentlemen from politics.

I pay tribute to American democracy and American toleration. I enjoy the liberty with which American newspapers criticize their public officials and admire the American officials for taking public criticism with a gracious sense of humor.

I am always touched by American business courtesy and the liberal use of *Thank you's*. But I am always amused at the *Oh, yeah's?* which are a cliché to hide the vacuity of the speaker's intellect.

I love dinners under subdued lights and the quiet appointments of good American homes but I always come home a mental wreck from cocktail parties, in which one attains the maximum physical movement with the minimum mental activity.

A cocktail party is a place where you talk with a person you do not know about a subject you have no interest in. It is like taking ten wrong trains and coming back ten times from Manhattan Transfer, finally landing in Pennsylvania Station after an hour of completely wasted, purposeless activity.

It is also an institution where you learn simultaneously to wave your hand to someone across the room on your right, smile a greeting to someone on your left, and manage to say, "Oh, yeah?" to the lady in front, with whom you are supposed to be engaged in a philosophic conversation.

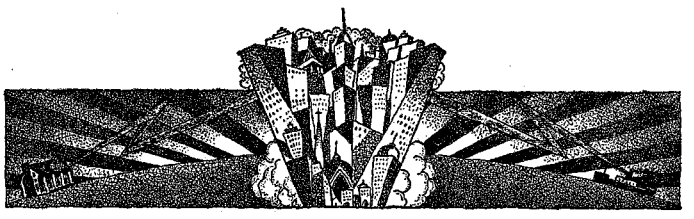
I appreciate the sentiment of Soup Magnates and Pork Kings and Bristle Heiresses importing entire English castles and French chateaux brick by brick but I have other opinions about office buildings inspired by factories and residences inspired by office buildings. In fact, I see only business executives working in factory buildings and men and women residing in office buildings but have never seen American families living in homes in the City of New York.

I admire the American love for old furniture and old carpets but am sorry to find chromium taking the place of wood in the home. Chromium is too cold for the home and too hard for the soul. Something terribly akin do I see between platinum blondes and chromium homes and tin-can souls.

I am delighted at servidors, refrigerators, vacuum carpet cleaners, and escalators but I hate to look at a bed that springs down from what seems to be a wardrobe door. I like labor-saving devices but hate all space-saving inventions.

The American home developed from chimneyed cottages, was changed into apartment flats, and is now disappearing into the trailer. The trailer is the logical development of the American home from the apartment flat, which has been defined as the place where some members of the family wait for the return of the car being occupied by other members of the family. So why not build a slightly bigger car in which all the members can live all the time?

Man alive! The American will soon be living in partitioned cracker barrels, if he doesn't look out!



In an early issue:
"Vauclose — a College for Middle Age,"
by J. H. Wallis

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The Artist's Point of View

We Are Protected from the Crudities of Democracy in Art

THAT WAS the thought in Mr. Mellon's mind, I am sure, when he stipulated the conditions of the gift to the nation of his $50,000,000 collection of old masters and a $10,000,000 building in which to house them as a national gallery of art. These conditions are:

The board of trustees shall include, along with four members of the cabinet (ex-officio), five persons, not connected with the government, appointed by the regents of the Smithsonian Institution subject to his, Mellon's, approval.

Vacancies shall be filled by the board itself, thus making it self-perpetuating.

The board's decisions shall not be subject to review by any agency except the courts.

The curator, director, and staff shall be subject to Mellon's approval.

No work "inferior in quality to those of the collection" shall be exhibited in the national gallery.

The government is to pay all maintenance expenses.

Senator Tom Connally of Texas, sponsor of the bill, voiced this sentiment of benevolent protection from the crudities of democracy when he vehemently answered Senator La Follette's summation of the objections of the American Artists Congress (not to the gift but to its conditions) as follows:

> It ill becomes us to assume the position of bargaining when we are offered such a gift as this. Let us take it or leave it. If we don't want to take it, we can go to the Treasury and buy Mr. Mellon's pictures. The money is there. Then the Senator from Wisconsin will be satisfied. We can have our own men run the gallery and, when some constituent from ward six comes along and paints a picture of his Senator, we can put it in the gallery. That will be a wonderful, ideal situation. It will be our gallery, bought with our money, and we can run it like the people [with an angry emphasis] want it run.

This broadside won, after four hours of debate, and the bill passed with only a few negative votes. The President's approval was known in advance, as was that of the art critics, the press, and the art world in general.

The net result of this irrevocable legal contract with Mr. Mellon is that the Government of the United States of America is to pay out some $300,000 a year for the maintenance of a public institution in which neither it nor any democratic agency has a voice in policy or management, which by implication bars all contemporary activity and recognition of living art and which perpetuates this benevolent, cultural, one-old-man dictatorship.

Here, then, is posed a cultural issue of profound importance, because it officially decides in a major case the character of our national art philosophy.

The Mellon theory presupposes that the social value of art emanates from veneration of supreme works of the past, that nothing contemporary can equal these supreme achievements, that all "lesser" works are of negligible social importance.

The contrary theory assigns the greatest social value to the experiencing of art as a living activity. This experiencing, it claims, provides the only effective foundation for understanding and appreciating all art, including that of the great past. A contemporary production and participation program, therefore, should take precedence, in community support, over all programs of antiquarian veneration. A combination of the two programs with the emphasis on production is healthy, and a national gallery representing both would be a constructive force, fostering our contribution to the great traditions of the past. The Mellon exclusion of the living experience is a cultural tragedy.

That which we can produce now as a cultural democracy *is* our national culture. It grows as it is nourished. To refuse nourishment and then hide what Mr. Mellon considers the crudities of that culture under the borrowed splendors of the past is evasion of responsibility and cultural camouflage. Better sixth-ward portraits than antiquarian dictatorship. But the Senator from Texas is far too sensitive. He need not fear democracy. The Federal Art Projects have shown the way.

RALPH M. PEARSON

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A Page for Poets

Conducted by Henry Goddard Leach

President, Poetry Society of America

Poetry Parade

Here are eleven new poetry books this month, and all eleven are volumes of distinction. Four are works about poetry, and seven are collections of contemporary poems.

Workers in Fire, by Margery Mansfield (Longmans, Green, $3.00), is a companionable guidebook in the art of writing contemporary verse. The Corresponding Secretary of the Poetry Society of America places her years of technical criticism of fellow poets and her own production at the elbow of the poet in his workshop. Her instructions often take the gracious form of dialogue. Her book is written with a charm and frankness that is devoid of any pose. It is a candid guide to the use of every device in verse, from internal assonance to sprung meter. There is nothing else in print — unless rhyming dictionaries and books of synonyms — so indispensable to the professional or amateur poet at his desk.

The Great Poets, by Charles A. Dinsmore (Houghton Mifflin, $2.75), is an open, popular interpretation — from Aeschylus to Shakespeare — of the contribution of the superlative poets to the riddle of life and the development of the human mind. Whitman, by Edgar Lee Masters (Scribner, $3.50), is impartial biography; Masters presents Whitman less as an accomplished poet than a prophet of national consciousness. Poetry in Prose, by Walter de la Mare (Oxford, $1.25), is a British Academy lecture on the service of rhythm and imaginative condensation to British prose.

Saltwater Farm, by Robert P. Tristram Coffin (Macmillan, $1.90), sings of the uncorrupted American, and its song is easy to understand, unhurried, unartful. Mount Holyoke Verse, Vol. II, edited by Ada L. F. Snell (Oxford, $1.75), is a tonic of daydreams of healthy American girlhood. The Emperor Heart, by Lawrence Whistler (Macmillan, $1.50), is an importantly decorated volume, by a young British poet with a passion for the land, that as yet shows more promise than achievement. Monticello, by Lawrence Lee (Scribner, $2.00), is the work of a young Virginian poet of the land whose cleanliness and sensitiveness condone his conventionality. Encounter in April, by Mary Sarton (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), is the fragile, brittle, iridescent work of a New England girl for whom the cruder passions are refined into the fleeting shadows of angel wings. The Sleeping Fury, by Louise Bogan (Scribner, $2.50), is urban sophistication but firm and sure. Biography for Traman, by Winfield Townley Scott (Covici, Friede, $2.00), is a leftist sequence of the philosophical struggle of young men.

To Pay the Poet's Rent

***by* LLOYD FRANKENBERG**

"You write poetry?" says my landlord. "I pity you."

Pity is the word for poetry today. Music flourishes. Painting and sculpture take a governmental lease on life. Prose swells in volume. In the shadow of the cinema the play goes on. The government is subsidizing most of these now. But not poetry; no one believes poetry will ever pay the rent.

Why is this? Has poetry outlived its usefulness? Is it a part of human experience that belongs only to childhood?

Distinguished from prose, poetry is an arrangement of words, to be spoken in a regularly stressed manner, to convey an emotion. In a looser sense, anything that conveys emotion is poetry. The poetic impulse in all arts is that childlike joy in things which in poetry is decried. It is claimed that prose has usurped that function. Poetry is neglected not because of this false assumption, but because it presents special problems of marketing which I do not believe have, up to this time, been adequately met.

II

How is verse marketed today?

A lecture manager books an internationally known poet, such as John Masefield, to read his poems in Town Hall. Few beyond the fifth row can hear properly, fewer still follow the sense beyond the fifth line.

A publisher thinks, "We must do something for poor old poetry." Quixotically, he issues a small volume of verse. It will not pay but it might add to his prestige.

A Harriet Monroe devotes her life to keeping alive a *Poetry* in which many poets find their only publication. At her death one wonders how long it will survive her.

A literary agent handles the verse of a prose writer as a sop to acquire his prose works.

A poetry society holds a meeting. Its members criticize each other's verses and sell each other their latest volumes.

A fellowship foundation sits and grandly appropriates two or three poets enough to eat for the ensuing months.

A more affluent poet pays the printer and hands around copies to his friends at Christmas.

None of these outlets taps a potential audience that exists for American poetry. They fail to recognize the nature of poetry and of its possible public.

III

Poetry does not have crowd appeal. Its conception of the world as its audience is universal but personal. Marketers have been misled by the universality and have thought to sell verse like coffee and detective stories, by reciting it to large audiences. In the Golden Age poetry was tied up with drama, until the public discovered prose was the fitter medium. Poetry had no right to attempt a paying, large-audience basis.

How could it pay on a small scale? It did not, like collecting, offer sole possession; advertising and distribution did not sell it. Publishers called the public and poetry infantile and gave it up as a bad job. There is the common denominator. It is an art of childhood — the art of reading aloud. It is up to the publisher, if he wants to sell poetry, to train the reader's ear. It cannot be read silently unless the ear has been previously trained.

How much interest would there be in

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The Poet's Rent

music if there were no public performance? That is practically the position in which poetry finds itself today.

The first consideration for a poetry recital should be the size of the hall. Every member of the audience ought to be able to hear comfortably poems recited not much above the speaking voice. Audiences should be equipped with scores by which to follow the reading. Verse is effective when read and heard at the same time. It appeals to both eye and ear.

Most important of all, poems should be read so that they do appeal to the ear. There seems to be almost no one today who can read verse out loud.

Without detracting from its importance as an art, poetry is meant for enjoyment. As with other forms of entertainment, its backers must devise practical methods for putting it across. In this they will have to start from scratch. There is nothing to be learned from poetry recital in the past except that failure came from swollen audiences, unwieldly programs, badly read poems. The main cause of failure has been the isolated nature of recitals. To be profitable, poetry should be presented continually on a wide scale throughout the country, in small units, in the manner of chain stores.

Its own units may, eventually, have to be created. But, to begin with, schools, clubs, libraries, and especially bookstores would seem to afford something the proper size of small amusement halls. A fixed proportion of the gate, as for prize fights, should be split with the poet or poets. Temptations toward increasing size in individual groups should be resisted. As soon as one is too large, it should divide, amœba-like, for comfort.

But success is a certainty. The legend is being undermined that the arts appeal to only a privileged few. The fact is that heretofore they have been accessible to only the privileged few.

In recent years, with public attention focused on painting and sculpture through governmental policies, more and more people have taken to going to art galleries and museums. Last year's attendance at the Museum of Modern Art's van Gogh exhibition was record-breaking. Exhibitions of government-sponsored painting have been received with enthusiasm this fall, all over the country, by people who formerly had no interest in the arts.

It is fast becoming known that almost anyone will prove to have a latent feeling for music and painting. But the average person has had no opportunity to experience poetry. He is not going to buy it when he has no conception of what it is.

Art is marketable enough. It is the means of distribution that are behind the times. Instead of sneering at poetry because it does not sell, the businessman should feel ashamed that he has not hit on a working method of selling it.

Why has he failed? Simply because he has not studied it with the attention he gives to soap or the cinema.

To an ambitious promoter with imagination and money, poetry offers a clear field.

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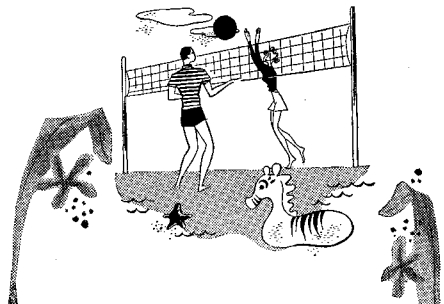

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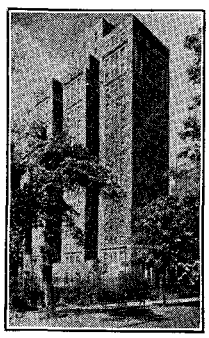

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Our Rostrum

(Continued from page VII)

streets and bought a copy. This was about ten o'clock or a little after, in the forenoon. I walked back up toward the main part of town on the west side of the street (Oak). Before I had reached Fifteenth Street, two men stepped up to me from behind and took the magazine out of my pocket with the remark: "You don't need that damn thing; we'll take care of that!" Well — they got the magazine, and I made no remarks, as I know Kansas City too well. Finally I sent another man down to get another copy. I have that one on hand but I seriously doubt I should be able to retain it if the proper authorities knew where it was.

I have no way of knowing why this was done. My suspicions are the result of the reflections cast in the article in question on conditions here, which reflections I might add are too mild. There is not a more vicious and corrupt city in the United States than Kansas City. Anyone not wishing to believe that statement should go into the records of the federal courts here now busy convicting the election crooks in the various wards of the city.

In the event you care to use any of this information, go ahead, and welcome, but please leave my name out of the published matter, as a man's life is not safe in Kansas City in matters of this character. Had Ralph covered the corruption as it is, you could not have published the truth, because of the obscenity and vulgarity it would be necessary to incorporate to make an entirely truthful and factual article. He has gone as far as it has been possible perhaps but far short of all the filth involved in the administrative affairs of Kansas City, the vilest and most corrupt spot in the United States.

V. L.

Kansas City, Mo.

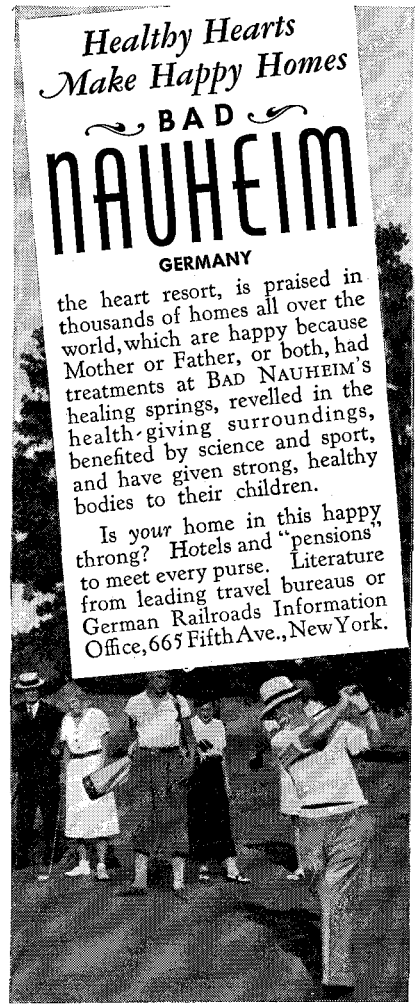
The editors feel that the writer of the foregoing letter may be prone to exaggeration. THE FORUM'S *newsstand sales in that section were far above normal for the issue carrying Mr. Coghlan's article, and it is difficult to believe that many were made under such circumstances as he narrates and otherwise intimates. However, his letter is offered for what it may be worth.*

LUDWIG ON WAR

To the Editor:

I am very much interested in reading Mr. Emil Ludwig's article on "The Causes of the Coming War" [April FORUM]. The line which he takes is a welcome relief from the economic interpretation of history which, in my opinion, is so much exaggerated at the present day.

The armed conflict, which Mr. Ludwig prophesies, may take place, but it seems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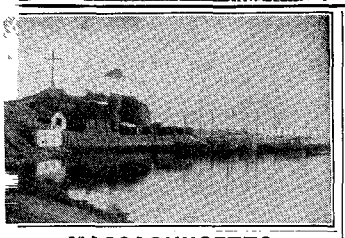

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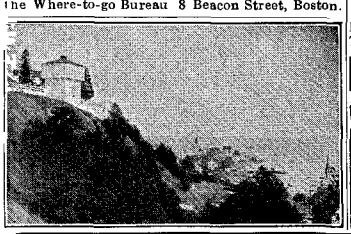

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Our Rostrum

to me a pity to assume that it is inevitable. Psychological causes seem to me to call for psychological cures, and I refuse to believe that the only way in which rival philosophies can come to terms is by conflict on the battlefield. I am very much impressed with Mr. Ludwig's final paragraph on the possibilities of American action in this crisis. . . .

FRANK AYDELOTTE
Swarthmore College
President's Office
Swarthmore, Pa.

To the Editor:

I have read Mr. Ludwig's kindergarten philosophy . . . from which I learned, among other things:

That wars are fought by sissies, who want to overcome their inferiority complex (for further details buy *Hindenburg*, by E. Ludwig).

That overpopulation does not lead to war (as can well be seen by visiting Manhattan — the most densely populated and yet most peaceful spot on earth).

That the most dangerous element of poison gas is the lyrical element in it.

That Nazi philosophy is a French-English-Jewish invention.

That colonies are a financial burden, not an asset (every schoolboy knows that the British Empire is kept alive merely for reasons of prestige by the sweating English taxpayers).

That raw materials must not be conquered as all colonial pioneers had to do but can be bought nowadays, thanks to our modern civilization and thanks to the inventor of the printing press (if gold should be rare).

That England could not keep up with German rearmament because she had no money.

That the League of Nations could still prevent the great massacre by merely prohibiting radio propaganda (in the same effective manner as it prevented the "one-room fire" in Africa last year) or that Roosevelt might do it (by a jolly little fireside talk, I presume).

. . . . . .

WM. L. FISCHER
Philadelphia, Pa.

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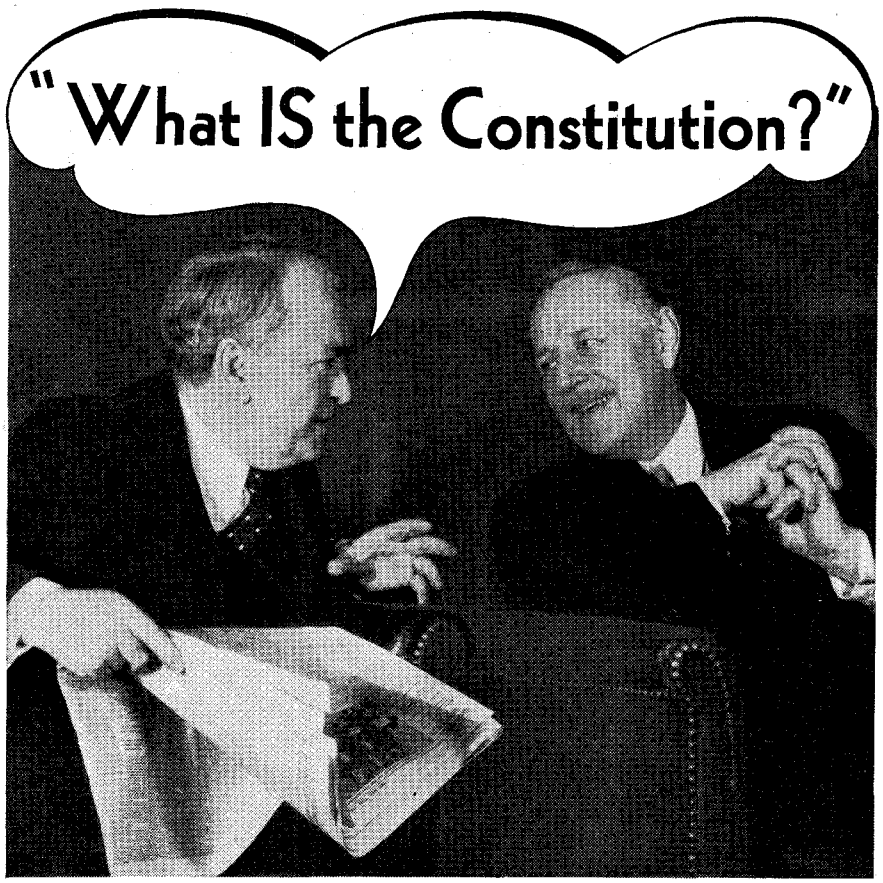

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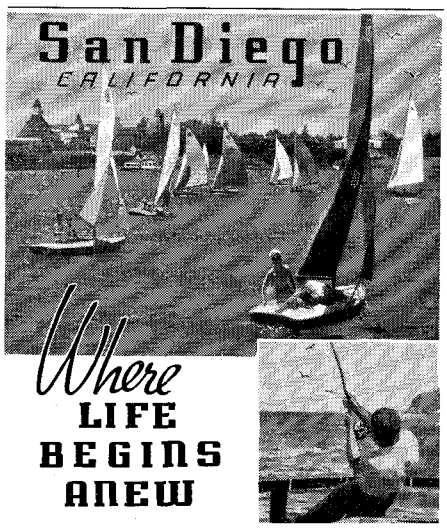

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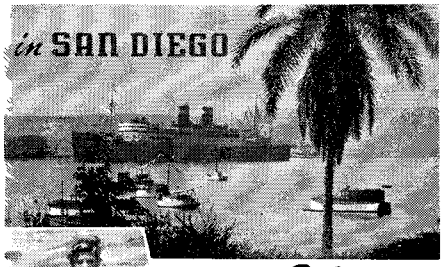

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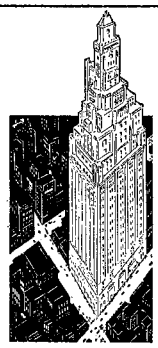

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TOASTS

MICHAEL WILLIAMS, editor of *The Commonweal*, is one of America's best known Catholic journalists. A native of Nova Scotia, he has been a reporter, editor, and writer all his life. His most recent books are *The Shadow of the Pope* and *The Catholic Church in Action.*

EARNEST A. HOOTON acquired a Ph.D. in the classics but abandoned them for other fields, not because he loved Latin less but anthropology more. The distinguished chairman of the Division of Anthropology at Harvard announces that his father was a minister but hesitates to attribute his animalistic interests to overdoses of religion in his youth.

The ANONYMOUS author of "My Child Was Crippled" lives in a north-shore suburb of Chicago. Since her children have grown up she has interested herself actively in the work of a Chicago hospital's clinic for crippled children and other community services.

HORNELL HART took the world's first Ph.D. in child welfare at the University of Iowa. He was professor of social economy for nine years at Bryn Mawr and wrote a chapter of the report by President Hoover's research committee on social trends. Since 1933 he has been professor of social ethics at the Hartford Theological Seminary.

V. F. CALVERTON founded *The Modern Quarterly* (now *The Modern Monthly*) in 1923 and has edited it since. He has been busy this year lecturing on the influence of social hypnosis, as embodied in his recent novel, *The Man Inside.* He has appeared in THE FORUM once previously, in 1930, when he wrote an article called "Polygamous Women."

MARY M. COLUM'S article this month will be her last in the "Life and Literature" series until a fall issue.

MARY OLIVE JONES was born in Jackson, Tennessee, and lives in New York City. She is the wife of Stanley Jones, writer and advertising man. Mrs. Jones has done considerable work in sculpture, but her present article is her first adventure in writing.

JAMES THURBER, the Connecticut Yankee by adoption, was born and brought up on the east side of Columbus, Ohio. He is Sagittarius with the moon in Aries but suffers only at irregular intervals.

E. MERRILL ROOT, who teaches English at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, is the author of several volumes of verse.

RALPH M. PEARSON has returned to New York City following a lecture tour of the Middle West.

MARY BORLAND, a FORUM contributor of long standing, spent a month in Russia last autumn, studying mostly history and art, particularly Byzantine architecture, about which she writes most enthusiastically.

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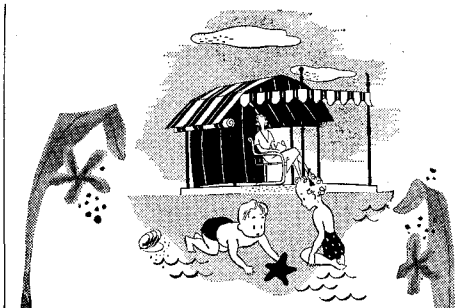

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